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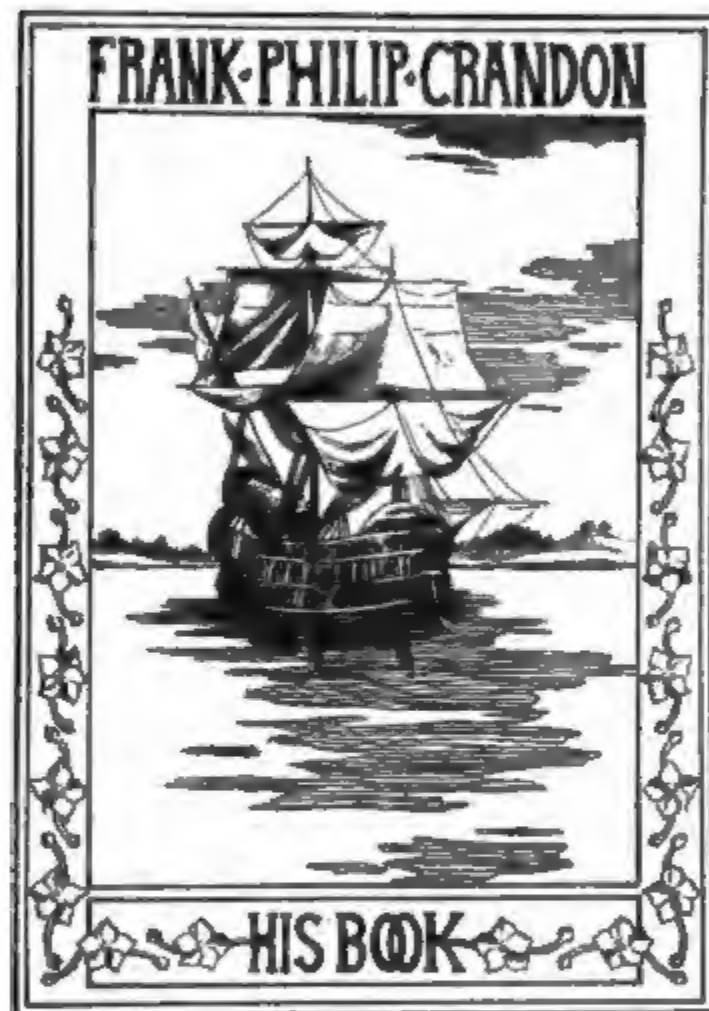
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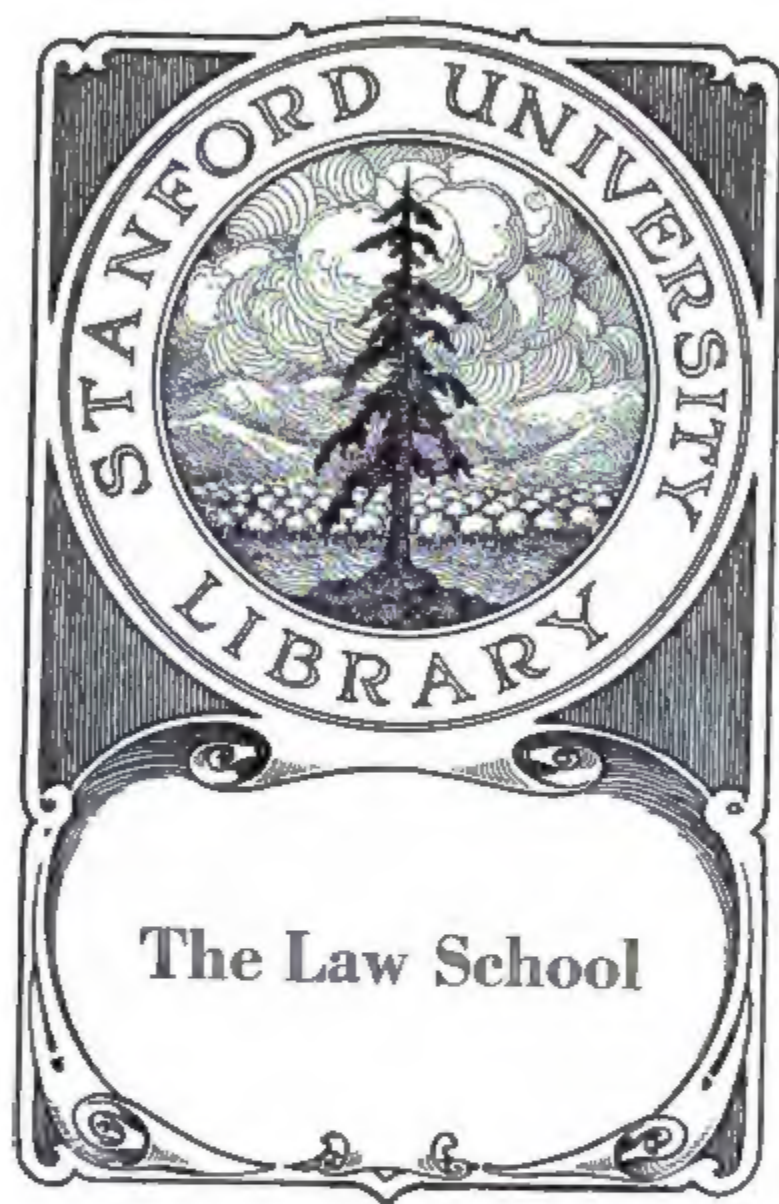
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V.

THE
HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

Guy Carleton Lee, Ph. D.

of

Johns Hopkins and Columbian Universities, Editor



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MRS. MONROE

JAMES MONROE

*From miniatures by Sene: that of Mrs. Monroe, in possession of Mrs. Charles Wilmer, of Baltimore;
that of the President, in possession of Mrs. Samuel L. Gouverneur, of Washington.*

THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA
VOLUME TWELVE *THE GROWTH OF*
THE NATION, 1809 TO 1837

BY

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WARRILL

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS volume takes up the story of the growth of the nation at the point where the volume upon the Constitution leaves it. In the latter volume Professor Moran wrote of the period following the Revolution and presented the steps whereby the Republic emerged from the chaos of disorganization and created for itself our fundamental instrument of government and set the orderly activities of the federated States in motion. With this accomplished, the work of the author of *The Constitution* ended and that of Professor Stevenson began. His was the task of presenting a view of the formative period in which grew to strength those influences which were later to involve the country in sectional differences and were, during the period of the volume, not only to give interpretation to the letter of the Constitution, but to establish the political structures, governmental and party, through whose medium the personality of men and sections found expression and execution.

The task of our author was by no means an easy one. The half-century before the Civil War was filled with events that refused to be classified in an orderly sequence. The West and the South, the North and the East clamored for special privileges and greater power. The conservative and the progressive warred, the new States chafed at the restrictions set upon them by the old. Events of widely separated situs not alone disturb the historian who struggles with the problem of forming a consecutive narrative, but his attention

is diverted by great figures whose personality compels attention whatever the progression of events. The problem that confronts writers working in this period is to preserve the narrative form and at the same time to follow each topic to its logical conclusion.

This problem has been ably met by Professor Stevenson. He has with judgment selected those points of stress which need elaboration and has given them place in a narrative whose sequence is so well preserved that the reader passes from one year to another with a thorough understanding of the conditions precedent to the events of each succeeding chapter.

The period considered in the volume is one of fascination. Its great military event was the War of 1812, marked by the gallantry of our navy, and the results of this war form the subjects of the discussions preceding the Missouri Compromise. The Monroe Doctrine finds expression in this period, and so, also, does the Doctrine of Nullification, both of which were to have such tremendous results. Abolition strikes deep root at this time, and in the North the name of Garrison becomes the synonym for opposition to slavery.

But the most prominent name of this period is that of Andrew Jackson, and his personality breaks the line of succession established by the fathers of the Constitution and marks a new era in the history of the United States. It is in Jackson's time that we have Webster, Adams, Clay, and many another statesman whose impress upon our national development has been great and lasting. These, then, are the men and events with which Professor Stevenson has dealt, and well has the task been accomplished.

GUY CARLETON LEE.

Johns Hopkins University.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IT has not been the writer's purpose to recite in unvarying chronological order all the events of this period, and with that to close the account. His main desire has been to give each part its true proportion, and his chief misgiving is that in this respect he may not have achieved his aim. Some matters have been sketched, others more fully elaborated. More space has been allowed to the War of 1812 and to the eight years of Jackson's administration than to the other seventeen years; more to the immensely significant westward movement than to the political revolution in New England; more to the effect of American genius in invention than to the immediate achievements of the new literature; more to the character of the American people than to the annals of successive Congresses; more to the influence of the American idea of Church as separate from State than to the desire for amusements; more to the rise of abolitionism than to the tendencies in art; more to the Missouri Compromise than to the Panama Congress; more to the Nullification controversy than to the scandals of the "Kitchen Cabinet"; more to the character of Andrew Jackson, even to the extent of giving a separate chapter to his early life, than to the lives of Madison, Monroe and Adams included; more, finally, to the irresistible growth of the people into power than to the fears of the aristocracy concerned to retain power at the expense of fair treatment of the common man and the recognition of his ideals.

It has been the constant aim of the author to preserve a careful impartiality in dealing with matters of difference of view, and to give no judgment for which he has not been able to offer a sanctioning fact for its source. The men of those times were, like the men of the present, serious and in the main sincere, and faced complex problems for whose solutions they could not furnish the needed wisdom.

The new day which Jefferson introduced, and to which Madison fell heir, was indeed unique. While it grew out of the old and was organically part of the early life of the nation, it was very properly regarded by many as in a true sense another era. The story of the period might well be entitled: "How democracy interpreted nationality."

Looking back with fuller knowledge and clearer vision we can now unveil what was hidden to the men of the period under review, and declare in categorical terms what to them was insoluble. They often misjudged each other; we can afford neither to overrate nor to decry. What was to them problematical has to us all the marks of an inevitable evolution.

When the period opens it finds the general government weak and unable to conduct in masterful fashion the war with its great enemy; at its close the Federal unity and force are well attested by the strong hand of Jackson; at the beginning, New England was compelled to adjust herself to economic conditions imposed upon her by the South, whose ambition to rule was purchased by commercial losses; at the close she became the chief defender of the system of protection to which she had at first turned a cold shoulder; at the opening, the South was eager for war with Great Britain and a notable upholder of the general government; at the end, she was an unwilling supporter of the Federal government; in the first decade of our period, the West drew hard on the East for her population, and in the end proved mighty enough to dictate her views to the nation.

In fine, several tendencies, now agreeing and then in conflict, mark the progress of the country from Madison to

Jackson; there is first the impulse toward centralization, and with this a triumph of the national idea strong enough to crush nullification, and self-sufficient against all European interferences; second, that resistless tendency to expand, as evidenced in the breathless march to the Mississippi and to the regions beyond, adding half a dozen new States in a decade; again, the disposition to pull apart, the North from the South, in their contention for control of western lands, out of which grew the Missouri Compromise; and yet again, the entrance upon the scene of the common man to claim his share in the government of the nation, thus bringing democracy and nationality together.

In preparing the history of these eventful days the author is under obligations to the authorities of the Congressional Library for special favors, to those of the State Department at Washington, D. C., for examination of manuscript originals, to Mr. C. B. Galbreath, librarian of the State Library, Columbus, Ohio, for privileges in research, and to the editor-in-chief of the series for profitable suggestions.

R. T. STEVENSON.

Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

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THE GROWTH OF THE NATION
1809 TO 1837

*From the beginning of Madison's administration
to that of Van Buren*

STEVENSON

CHAPTER I

THE LEGACY OF JEFFERSON

THE most distinguished member of the audience which listened to the inaugural of James Madison on the 4th of March, 1809, was Thomas Jefferson. It would be interesting to know his inner thoughts as he came to the close of his second administration. Eight years before he had said in his first inaugural: "I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it." For his lot he had great success and signal failure. Devoted friends offered him adulation and determined foes obstructed every forward step he took. As chief executive he had tasted the bitter-sweet of grave responsibilities. His passion was for peace, yet he was handing the nation over to his old lieutenant ripe for war with the mistress of the seas. Because he had preferred the arts of the diplomat to the strategy of the warrior he had laid himself open to the charge of cowardice. But had he not in the days of 1776 flung the "Declaration" at the head of the King of England?

He did not mingle freely with masses of men, and had none of the orator's mastery of the crowd, yet his influence over Congress is one of the things to be remembered in American history. He believed in the people, but kept from them the secrets of administrative control. "As a leader of democracy he appeared singularly out of place. . . . With manners apparently popular and informal he led a

life of his own, and allowed few persons to share in it." So far as he had to do with official trust, he took all the authority granted by the Constitution to the executive. So far as the masses were related to government he had loose, certainly liberal, ideas. His optimism was an attractive feature of his presidency, and yet it was not joined with either a belief in a strong central government or a practical ability for warding off imminent perils. He was widely humanitarian and much above the provincialisms of his fellows, but he was narrow when he preferred the rust of the country life of his times to the stir of the city. His enthusiasm for the future was not rationally bound up with the wisest provisions for guaranteeing that future. Jefferson's critics may have indulged in too severe strictures upon his ideas of an easy form of government, yet it can scarcely be doubted that his opinions and conduct lessened popular respect for strong rule, and even induced in some quarters instability in the republic. The times demanded concentration of energies. Yet he seemed to many to dally with opportunity, for he turned his back to the commercial prospects of the land and courted the farmer in the field, when what the nation needed most of all was a score of frigates on the ocean.

Yet history is too much for any one man. Jefferson had led a party to power without a programme. He lived to see a majority of his followers cemented together, not loosely, but as a party for the operation of all the powers of government. The great undercurrents of history whose inevitableness had not received recognition in the councils of state, in the debates of Congress, or in the columns of the few readable papers of the day, had transformed the liberalism of the Republicans into definite and even daring efforts to perpetuate what they had at times scornfully denounced. Their scepticism of the "more perfect union" had given way to an unexampled stretch of authority in the most momentous land acquisition of all time,—the Louisiana Purchase. Aided by the work of the Federalists, to

which he fell heir, Jefferson became the contestant who absorbs the vigor of the antagonists he overcomes, and he lived to illustrate the might of principles for which his opponents had died. With the help of Madison he had fathered nullification in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798-1799; nevertheless, he did not look with any complacency upon the back-stairs talk of Timothy Pickering for the organization of a Northern Confederacy, or upon his more treasonable correspondence with British commissioners at a time when the demand was for a nation united against a foreign foe. If this was inconsistent, it illustrates what has often been witnessed when the opposition becomes a vindicator of the very policy it fought when it had no administrative power. But at no time has it been so marked a feature of party triumph as in the opening years of the last century.

However this may be, Jefferson reached the end of his second term able to withstand the animosity of the Federalists, who regarded him with habitual and incurable distrust, having no more confidence in his word than the Roundheads had in that of Charles I. He also faced with equanimity the disintegrating influence of divisions among his followers: for in each of the three largest States the Republicans were weakened by family quarrels. In New York the defeat of Burr left for inheritance a factious energy that ill affected the political life of the State for years. The disaffection in Pennsylvania was controlled just in time to save the State for Madison. In Virginia, the presence of John Randolph was a constant irritant, yet in the crisis Virginia stood firm. Hate in the east and love in the south accompanied Jefferson to the close of his official career. If the second term lacked the glory of the first one, it was not without a thousand evidences of an abounding vitality in the ideals, the temper, and the resourcefulness of a mighty people still in the gristle.

Prosperity had not been withheld by fortune. The losses by the embargo decrees were not yet revealed, and the receipts of 1808 showed the handsome total of nearly eighteen

million dollars. There was a surplus in the treasury, where the great shade of Hamilton hovered over the desk of the Swiss, Gallatin, who worked on after the plans of his predecessor in the management of public funds. One notable disappointment affected both Jefferson and Gallatin, and that was the failure of their prospects for internal improvements now vanishing in the approaching strife of arms.

If to Jefferson and his political counsellors ultimate authority seemed safer in the care of the States than of the nation, it was reserved to his party to begin a war, to see it swell to continental proportions, and to end it without gaining their demands touching "search" and "impressment," but instead witnessing the vision of a national life made possible by the abatement of sectional jealousies. This was to be a great gain. War was to test the strength and to cure the weakness of the new Republicanism.

Before launching the reader upon the current of the new administration, it will be well to inquire what there was in the life of the republic to justify the optimism of the great leader of Democracy. Jefferson had greatly enlarged the territory of the Union. The literalists who had, when in opposition, checked the extension of constitutional powers, used its giant implications when in power to double the area of the national territory. After the Louisiana Purchase was effected the United States had more territory than the empire of Rome, and if the expectations of Franklin should be realized, the day was soon to arrive when the population might equal that of Rome after a thousand years of conquest and expansion. Four new States had been admitted to the fellowship of the original number: Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Foreign neighbors were the same as they had been after the treaty of 1783, but now the mountains and not the river formed the western margin of the nation's landholding. Great Britain held the northern border and Spain the western, whether in amity or in opposition to further expansion the future would tell.

The possession of the vast Mississippi-Missouri basin by a homogeneous population was to mean for the solidification of the United States more than any statesman or immigrant could dream. Yet territorial expansion was in these early days beginning to give direction to the policy, energy to the ambition, and a justification to the supremacy of the federal authority.

The population of the United States at the turn of the century had mounted up from three million, nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand in 1790, to five million, three hundred and eighty thousand, and by 1810 it stood at seven million, two hundred and thirty thousand. According to the census of 1810 no State had over a million inhabitants, and only four had a population of over half a million each; Virginia with nine hundred and seventy-four thousand, New York with nine hundred and fifty-nine thousand, Pennsylvania with eight hundred and ten thousand, and North Carolina with five hundred and fifty-five thousand. Massachusetts, Kentucky, and South Carolina had each between four hundred and five hundred thousand inhabitants.

In the main, the population was homogeneous, save in the slaveholding States. The percentage of the colored population was, however, greater in 1790 than afterward, being nineteen and three-tenths per cent of the whole population. The third census, in 1810, shows a percentage of eighteen and nine-tenths per cent, a very slight gain upon the report of 1800, but each succeeding decennial report gives evidence of proportional loss. The total negro population in 1810 was one million, one hundred and ninety-one thousand slaves, and two hundred and eighty-six thousand freemen of negro blood.

The hunger for virgin soil that possessed the dwellers in the East is best shown by reference to the percentages of growth in the Western States and Territories as compared with the growth of the Eastern States. In the first decade of the century, New York increased sixty-two per cent; Ohio, four hundred and eight; Georgia, fifty-five; and

Mississippi, three hundred and fifty-six per cent. Only eight States had an increase of over fifty per cent. The progress of the first decade was repeated in the second. From 1810 to 1820, Indiana gained five hundred per cent; Missouri, two hundred and nineteen per cent; and Ohio, one hundred and fifty-six per cent in population. Of the New England States, Massachusetts and Connecticut furnished the largest share of immigrants to the West. Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland also made generous contributions.

When it is remembered that the rush of foreign immigration had not set in, the rapidity with which the West filled up while at the same time the East was not depopulated, offers remarkable proof of the vitality of the American people. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the Northwest was an unbroken wilderness. Even as late as the opening of the period covered by this volume the northwestern portion of Ohio was occupied by Indians. The story, as told by the early census, shows that the paths of the hunters and home seekers in the West were by way of the valley of the Mohawk in the Northern, and by the Upper Potomac and on through southern Pennsylvania in the Middle States; down the valleys of Virginia and across the gaps of the mountains; and around the southern end of the range into Georgia when emigration trended to the south-central district of the territory of the United States. As the Ohio valley was more inviting than the Lake region, the former began to receive its quota from Virginia and Pennsylvania long before the men of Massachusetts planned to go to Marietta, or the Connecticut men to the Reserve. In 1790, southwest Pennsylvania had a population of sixty-three thousand, western Virginia fifty thousand, and Kentucky seventy-three thousand. As a territory, Ohio had, in 1800, forty-two thousand. As a State, it leaped forward at the rate of half a million a decade.

The daring of the American frontiersmen in throwing themselves far beyond the reach of civilized communities

and out of their power to offer protection marks the character of a brave and venturesome people. The settlers craved no odds, but gave them all to the beast, the forest, and the savage. They were confident that the world was moving their way. Loyalty and sectionalism mingled in the same breast. The Kentuckian changed the name of his central settlement when the news of the battle of Lexington came over the mountains, but he was quick to resent what seemed to him the indifference of the government to his imperilled interests at the mouth of the Mississippi, and he even discussed the possibility of an independent political life for himself and his neighbors, if his use of the river was not secured to him.

The West was much affected by the rumors of war at the close of the administration of Jefferson. Detroit, Fort Stephenson, Niagara, and New Orleans realized that they would be the first to face the impact of the coming strife. The frontiersmen were sure to hold what they had spent so much in acquiring. What had cost life and hardship could well demand hardship and life again. Yet the war rumors did not check the flow of population into the West. The western portion of New York was filling up with an industrious folk. The territories of Michigan and Indiana received large additions to their population. The banks of Ohio River were thinly lined with settlers from source to mouth. Tennessee and Alabama received a share of the incomers. So too did Georgia, but in that State the settlements were unevenly distributed owing to the occupancy by the Creeks and Cherokees of highly desirable lands in the upper country. St. Louis, so lately brought in from French control, had begun to radiate the enterprise of its new citizenship. At New Orleans and Vicksburg the new order of things was slowly telling for progress. It was nearly all very rude. It was all very trying to the traveller who loved ease more than exploits. For the most part, it was a homespun throng, but with the same capacity to weave their lives and fortunes into the nation's life that had

enabled them to shear sheep, spin thread, weave cloth, and fashion for themselves garments free from import duty. A more independent people could not be found.

The addition of new territory and the carving out of new States from the successive additions exercised influences upon the destiny of the nation not easily measured by the historic imagination, and quite defying statement. The South made the first gains of consequence. In Washington's first term, two States entered the Union: Vermont with its eighty-five thousand, and Kentucky with seventy-three thousand inhabitants. New York had fostered the former and Virginia the latter. With Vermont little that was new was added to the Union. With Kentucky came in the new type of masterful life in whose future action lay so much of good or ill for the whole people.

It is noteworthy how the westward moving people clung to the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, without, however, any consciousness of the line of the path they followed in going to their new homes. The addition of Louisiana deflected the path to the South. Ten years later, it was trending a little south and always west, and in the next decade, to the southwest, owing to the settlements in Mississippi and Alabama. But after 1830, the deflection of the path was to the north because of the attractions of the ample prairies of the northwest.

The nation was peculiarly rural; the entire urban population of the United States in 1800 amounting to only four per cent of the whole people. In 1810, it was slightly more, while it was not until 1840 that the city population crept up to eight per cent of the total population. There were no cities of any consequence in the West.

The emigrants to the new portions of the union were, as a rule, native born. Not more than five thousand foreigners, annually, landed on the shores of America in the twenty-five years following the Revolutionary War. The vast and useful multitudes that flocked to the United States from Germany, England, and Ireland in the second third of the

century, were not the men who founded the States of the Mississippi valley, made their laws, and gave to their institutions unique character and untrammelled vigor.

But the progress in population even in the East was small for so great a territory. There were not enough people successfully to cope with nature in the start, and their efforts were greatly hindered by the insufficient means of communication in the riverless districts. The pioneers in all sections of the United States strove hard to remedy this, and the opening of the period of which we write was marked by a passion for road building. States and corporations exhibited an almost reckless energy in opening up the country. The main motive for building roads was the hope of increased profits from commerce. The shippers on the coast desired to be in touch with the producers in the country. Capital, often with recklessness, threw itself into the business of turnpike construction. In 1810, in New England alone, there were chartered more than one hundred and eighty companies, and in the following year New York legalized one hundred and thirty-seven, and Pennsylvania thirty-three.

Good roads were the more necessary because on account of the bad roads the cost of transportation was so great as to be a serious bar to rapid economic advance. It cost a dollar to carry a barrel of flour to Philadelphia from a point seventy-four miles distant. To haul a ton of freight from the same city to Pittsburg cost one hundred and twenty-five dollars. The average rate of carriage of goods was ten dollars a ton for each hundred miles. High tolls and bad roads explain the large charges.

Because of the lack of easy communication between the different sections of the Union, social, political, and economic sectionalisms gained strength, and were intensified by local conditions and inherited prejudices. There was much misunderstanding, deepening into jealousy. The East was conservative, the West progressive; the one attached to the past, the other to the day to come; the

one caring for method, the other for accomplishment. The elements of power were present on both sides. But the attitude of the West and of the South toward the War of 1812, soon to be waged, is worth a moment's reflection, for with the close of the war the sections were knit together as never before. In the new communities there had grown up a defiance of the characteristic blunders of the Federalists, who had a rooted distrust of the common people. This party would put the direction of all public affairs into the hands of a few; they relied upon vested rights; they would employ force upon public opinion. Their theories and their practice were "of the very essence of the aristocratic politics of the eighteenth century." The settlers beyond the Blue Ridge were individualistic. They often failed to gain their ends because the will and force of private units took the place of impersonal energy of law. There is something very fine about the vanguard of civilization, for there we find the elemental man. The West loved the free man, the lonely fighter of panthers, the pioneer of the tiny clearing, the moccasin-shod hunter, imitator of the red Indian, whose skill in woodcraft he rivalled and whose endurance in a running fight he surpassed. They wrought in simple faith, in rude endeavor, and with tireless patience, until the scattered huts became a hamlet, then a village, then a town, at last a city, and the wonder of civilization was accomplished.

When Jefferson retired from public life, the cure for Eastern pessimism lay in the West. There were men who doubted, but not among the hunters so much as among the orators. In 1803, the eloquent Fisher Ames scanned the horizon, and the throng pushing on to possess it. "The country," said he, "is too big for Union, too sordid for patriotism, too democratic for liberty." Nine years before the war the Federalist newspapers gave wide circulation to a paragraph from Dennie's portfolio: "A democracy is scarcely tolerable at any period of national history. Its omens are always sinister, and its powers are unpropitious. It is on trial here and the issue will be civil war, desolation,

and anarchy." At a New York dinner, Alexander Hamilton smote the table, and said: "Your people, sir, your people is a great beast." Even Jefferson with strong faith in democracy, held a shaking faith touching the permanence of the Union, for in 1804 he wrote: "Whether we remain in one confederacy, or form into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederations, is, I believe, not very important to the happiness of either part." But speculation was confounded by the test of storm and strife. The war so close at hand was to settle more momentous questions than the right of search and the prohibitory power of "decrees." There was to be no arrest of the expansion of the United States, no shattering of their unity, and no loss of the rights of the individual citizen.

When the Revolutionary War came to an end, the average American had not come to his inheritance in the matter of political rights. Democracy as now known was a stranger to many of our fathers. Intolerable restrictions burdened the life of the common man. Not manhood qualifications, but tax receipts, church creeds, and white skins were required of those who would vote. Maryland and the Carolinas demanded fifty acres of land, or thirty pounds worth of personal property. A property tax in Pennsylvania, a tax receipt in New York, an article of faith in South Carolina, an income of a pound and a half from a freehold in Connecticut, and of three pounds in Massachusetts, were the prerequisites of suffrage. The man without land could not be trusted. The man without piety was not to have political power. Land qualifications as promoters of a candidate's chances for office were general in States south of Pennsylvania. In South Carolina ten negroes and five hundred acres of land were the hinges upon which a man might hope to open the door to the legislature. In New York, Delaware, and Maryland, no priest or minister could be elected to a civil office. But in a generation the offensive things that shut men out from man's duty and honor were swept away.

The religious restrictions were the first to go. Eight Constitutions fashioned within ten years after Washington's

inauguration marked the change. Catholics and Protestants voted by the side of men of no church. Poll taxes were abolished. A generous attitude is seen in the work of the first two States admitted into the Union, for in Vermont and Kentucky manhood suffrage for the first time in the history of the United States became part of the political life of the States. It was easier for the West than for the East to espouse the new liberalism. The West had the advantage which always attends the first planting of ideas in virgin and congenial soil. The East grafted the new variety on old stock. It is not strange then that Ohio cast her first vote for Jefferson. In Ohio, rights were secured to the people, prerogatives were stripped from the executive and handed to the legislature, life terms were refused to the judges, and the burdens of representative government were laid upon the people who were primarily responsible for good government. The tendency to make the judiciary elective was in keeping with the purpose of Jefferson to give the people paramount influence in the selection of their interpreters of law. What he could not secure in the case of the Supreme Court he did gain in the new Commonwealths whose judiciaries passed from the appointive to the elective stage.

In all this the Federalists found cause for complaint. They distrusted the people, but the Jeffersonian policy toward the expansion of the West was wise, while that of the Federalist was shortsighted. Free government was not without its possibility of blunders, but the right of self-government, blunders and all, was not to be denied to a people so capable of taking care of itself.

Leadership was passing away from the New England Federalist, nor was the conviction one to lessen any bitterness in the fact. In the days of the Revolution, New England was at least on a parity with Virginia, and it considered itself in the ascendancy, but at the opening of the nineteenth century Virginia obtained control of the affairs of the nation. And with this triumph of Virginia the West came in for a share of prestige and ambition. The

approaching war gave to both ambition and prestige heightened values. For as the West found itself a sharer in the growing power of the Union it became more loyal. In the eighteenth century the West had shown separatist tendencies, but the settlement of the Louisiana question made it quite impossible for the visionary scheme of Burr to work anything but ill to its fosterers. In the necessarily national policy which accompanied the expansion of 1803, the West naturally stood for Jefferson, and with him opposed the narrowness of the East and its opposition to the policy of widening and deepening national power. It was, after all, the persistency of the westerner that won Louisiana as much as it was the diplomacy of Jefferson. Political suicide was not in the creed of the new States. The necessity of expansion made them nationalists. Their best life was to be found in connection with the growth of the general government. Though there had been no declaration of national sovereignty at the end of the eighteenth century, and none but the leaders in political science thought of the general government as an organism, and the people had dim ideas of the nation as a sort of public servant of the States, yet everything was in preparation for the supremacy of the national idea, even though it might come by way of the shame of an inefficient central administration in the wretched handling of war measures.

It must not be thought that Jeffersonian principles were prevalent only in the West and the South. They had established themselves in the East, and their existence in that section indicated the loss of power which the old-time leaders in New England had suffered. Massachusetts was about evenly divided in politics between the two parties. The Republicans rallied to their ranks all who would widen the suffrage, disestablish the Church, and oppose the oligarchy of wealth and college and clergy. A popular resentment against the control of the classes vigorously faced the clerical autocrat, and won at the polls. The autocrat ostracized the democrat as a pestiferous Jacobin whose high priest

was Jefferson. The latter outvoted him and won respect as a member of the body political, if not as a member of the body social. The trend toward popular interest in government, toward unshackled expression of opinion, and a freer doctrine and less severe discipline in religion was thoroughly characteristic of the new Americanism in New England, and most powerful in all other sections of the Union.

The younger generation in the East, and almost the whole of the West advocated liberalism in matters social, intellectual, and political, and this advocacy increased in strength and extent as the distance from the Atlantic coast increased. As we move through New York to the West and South, college and church centres of conservatism become rare, until by the time we arrive at the banks of the Ohio tradition has been supplanted by revolution. The gap between New England and the Middle States has been well compared to that which separates Scotland from England. When Pennsylvania is reached there is to be found no hierarchy like that in New England, and no oligarchy like that of Virginia. Gallatin's description fits the State of his adoption: "In Pennsylvania not only have we neither Livingstons nor Rensselaers, but from the suburbs of Philadelphia to the banks of the Ohio I do not know a single family that has any extensive influence. An equal distribution of property has rendered every individual independent, and there is among us true and real equality." Pennsylvania produced little genius and less tendency to treason. At the opening of the century New York cared little about the political theories which vexed New England. The product of confederation might be a nation or a league, for all New York cared; and she went her way to a marvellous commercial prosperity.

While Pennsylvania was the harbor of "isms," and religious creeds flourished in rank profusion, in Massachusetts and Connecticut the influence of the clergy was still a marked feature of the social and political as well as of the religious life of the people. Public thought had not ceased



Portrait of Aaron Burr, painted by J. Vandyke in 1834, and of Madame Jumel, whom he married in the same year. *From old prints.*

to gravitate toward the church, the old State church of the colony. The clergy were as much the natural leaders of New England as the planters were the natural leaders in Virginia. Any tendency to revolt against the dictation of the men in the pulpits carried a man over into the camp of the Republicans. The great mass of the New England Republican party was made up of secret, or open, latitudinarian, free thinking, or fanatical dissenters from the religious establishment. The influence of the clergy in the New England States before 1800 had scarcely a parallel since the days of Calvin in Geneva. Nor had it died out by 1812, when conscience and commerce united, in opposition to the Jeffersonian rule, to save the State from national interference with its rights.

The leading men of Virginia were forceful and of equal ability to their compeers in other States, but the mass of the people in Virginia were intellectually inferior to their kind in most other sections of the United States. The people thought on stereotyped lines set by the school of Jefferson and Madison, and remained content with their inheritance of ideals and leaders. As we go further South we find, in North Carolina, more political freedom, and fewer social extremes than in any other Southern State; and in South Carolina a tyranny of slaveholding interests which went along with a singular charm of social and intellectual life, in Charleston especially, pleasing to the cultivated traveller from Europe. It was reserved for South Carolina, before the close of the period of this volume, to attempt to carry out to their logical conclusion the democratic theories which at the opening of the century Jefferson fathered, but which he declined to press to their extreme.

The legacy of the outgoing president was one of mixed good and ill. It included a huge land purchase, fast filling up with a restless throng of individualists, among whom there was a feeling not shared by the men of the older States, that they in their relation to the national government were peculiarly the children of its care. This craving for protection

augured well for the national power, for the drift of population was to the West. There were also certain Supreme Court decisions which tended to strengthen the general government, offset, it is true, by the force of the old idea of the rights of the States. There was also the continuance of the "Virginia dynasty," in which the South was upheld by the West, offset in this case by the jealous sentiment of the Northeastern Federalists opposed to both the rule of Virginia and the growing power of the Mississippi valley. And as if to complicate the situation still more, the retiring president clung to his embargo policy with a most irritating tenacity, dropping it only when the tension threatened the stability of the Union. And with as much reason for going to war as his successor had, Jefferson forced the maintenance of a peace policy which reduced the army from four thousand to twenty-five hundred men, retired skilled officers, manufactured no more ammunition, diminished the number of vessels from over twoscore to seven, and substituted small craft for frigates. The Eastern Federalists rejoiced when his administration came to an end, not because there were any hopes of a change in the general policy, but because of the lifting of the embargo.

The nearing conflict was not altogether unwelcome to a people whose endurance of wrongs had already reached its limit. A cry for reprisals was spreading. Some preparations had been made for war. West Point Academy had been founded in 1802, and out of it was to come Scott, the hero of Chippewa. The discipline of the war with the pirates of the Mediterranean had trained the men whose superiors on the deck of a frigate have never been known. But above all, and more significant for the national development in real power, was the passing of the leadership of the Republican party from the hands of the older men to those of a set of young men in whose dash and fire was much of peril, but in whose commanding ability and splendid assurance was the guarantee of progress.

CHAPTER II

JAMES MADISON—DIPLOMACY

ON the day of his inauguration, James Madison was nearing his fifty-eighth birthday. He was born on the 16th of March, 1751, at Port Conway, Virginia, of respectable parents in "independent and comfortable circumstances." Excellent preparation by private tutors enabled him to enter Princeton at the age of eighteen. After graduation he soon found what he called his "first entrance into public life," for he was sent as a delegate to the Virginia Convention of 1776. In this body he secured the adoption of an article which stands to-day in the Bill of Rights of Virginia declaring that "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." His sentiments were generous and his sympathies broad. His scholarship ranked him with the best informed men of his day. He was small in stature, precise, dignified, courteous, modest and reserved in manner. He lacked an imposing presence, but was influential in political affairs.

His public service lasted forty years, and he lived to see the experiment of his youth become the achievement of his old age. In working for the erection of a great popular government he often served other men without the return of their approbation. He was an old young man, poised, unaggressive, yet persistent, and with rare powers of taking pains. His correspondence with the foremost men of the times reveals both the maturity of his thought and the confidence of his friends in the sanity of his judgment. His

peculiar ability in clear statement is set forth in a letter from Jefferson in which Madison was urged to answer Hamilton: "For God's sake, take up your pen and give a fundamental reply to 'Curtius' and 'Camillus.' Hamilton is really a colossus, and when he comes forward there is nobody but yourself who can meet him." In the course of his administration we find him so badgered and besmirched as president of a divided people engaged in an unwelcome war that it is well to recall the true weight of his work, which was most noteworthy in the first half of his life. He was a maker and defender of great state papers rather than a fighter of battles.

When the statesman became a politician, the less pleasing portion of his career is traversed by the reader. The party leader is not so winning a character as the single-hearted public servant. He began his career as a Federalist, then drifted with his native State under the influence of Jefferson to the side of the opposition.

The relations between the two men were so close that, as the second term of Jefferson drew to its end, he made no secret of his wish that Madison, his secretary of state, should become his successor as president of the Union. Disharmony was abroad in the ranks of the Republicans. Yet the fears of Gallatin, in 1808, that he and his would be turned out of office by "the fourth of March next" were not justified by the result of the votes cast for the respective candidates, for Madison received one hundred and twenty-two, C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, forty-seven, and George Clinton, of New York, six. By a vote of one hundred and thirteen, Clinton was chosen vice-president. The unbroken votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware were cast for Pinckney and against Madison. The only New England State to vote for him was Vermont.

On March 4, 1809, Madison read his inaugural and took the oath of office before Chief Justice Marshall. The homespun suit he wore was more plain to the understanding

of the crowd than the sentences of the address. The inaugural pictured the oppression of European edicts, breathed the spirit of peace and of independence, paid Jefferson the tribute appropriate on the occasion of his retirement after distinguished services, and looked to posterity for justification. The address was without flaw in its general statement of rights to be maintained, yet it lacked power to stir men to action. The lack of anything like a definite policy to be pursued toward the belligerents well appears in the following: "How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued, in spite of the demonstrations that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United States, and of the fair and liberal attempt to induce a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated. Assuring myself that under every vicissitude the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safeguards to its honor and essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me, with no other discouragement than what springs from my own inadequacy to its high duties." It was quite like Madison. He was a better lawyer than soldier, and was in excellent touch with the style of patriotism of the past eight years, more willing to spill ink than to shed blood, and the substitution of the sword for the pen was too much to expect from a man of his irenic temper.

The advisers chosen by Madison for his Cabinet reflected in the main the spirit of their chief, nor were they a cheerful sign of the times. In nearly every department dwelt weakness. The four secretaries were: William Eustis, for war; Paul Hamilton, for the navy; Robert Smith, for the state department, and Albert Gallatin, the one able man in the Cabinet, for the treasury. Eustis had been a hospital surgeon in the Revolution; Hamilton was a gentleman from South Carolina, at one time its governor; Smith had been the incompetent secretary of the navy and was now promoted, though not by the free choice of the president, but by a miserable intrigue. He was a fussy, ambitious bungler, while Gallatin, whom he outranked, was the ablest

public servant in the nation. Had inefficiency been the only defect in the Cabinet, failure might not have been so certain, but most of the secretaries added to their incompetence actual disinclination to fulfil the duties of their position.

It was a time of drifting. Much confusion and mutual distrust were abroad. Josiah Quincy wrote to John Adams, December, 1808: "The policy is to keep things as they are, and wait for European events." Political Micawbers were naturally helpless in the hands of such acute and vigorous and unscrupulous men as managed the military and diplomatic affairs of Europe at this time. Over against those who had given to the British the mastery of the seas, and to the French the mastery of the continent, the United States presented a weak president with an inefficient and disloyal Cabinet, and a Senate which thwarted him by refusing to send John Quincy Adams as minister to Russia. Madison was not sustained by the people at large, for the Federalists carried Massachusetts and elected Christopher Gore as governor, and achieved a like victory in New Hampshire and Rhode Island; while in New York and Maryland they carried the legislature; and in Pennsylvania the militia was about to be called out to defy the process of the Supreme Court.

A stand was finally made against European aggression, and the Non-Intercourse Act, a compromise measure, passed in February, 1809, put both the foreign belligerents under ban, and opened up trade relations with the rest of Europe, thus gaining for the United States the reputation of similar disposition toward both Great Britain and France, and offering other powers an opportunity to assert their rights. The Act proved a help in staying the defection of New England, but whether it would have power to drive the odious "Orders" and "Decrees" from European portfolios remained to be seen.

The temporary calm in which Madison entered upon his duties seemed about to become a settled peace through the

dealings with the British minister, David Montague Erskine, who was, like his father, a warm friend to America, and did his utmost to allay strife between the two nations. The British ministry appeared, so the American minister, William Pinkney, reported to be so affected by the embargo, that it was willing to come to amicable terms, and, in truth, Canning was disposed to make some concessions to the United States. There was reason for the spirit of accommodation in the British Cabinet. Napoleon had triumphed in Spain. American goods brought threefold prices in the English markets. West India produce overflowed in London warehouses and could not be sold in Holland, where Napoleon was supreme. English soldiers had to be paid in specie while there was only a dead market for produce. Against such heavy economic pressure, even the cold temper and caustic wit of Canning so far yielded as to show "more than usual kindness and respect" to the American minister, and after exhibiting a gentler spirit in the Commons he sent instructions to Erskine. These instructions were from a man whose excess of pride made it hard to treat a foreign people with courtesy, and he may have expressed a consideration which he did not feel. At least he created the "impression of bad faith by offering terms intended to be refused." The latitude he allowed to Erskine gave opportunity for withdrawal from the proposed agreement.

Acting upon the instructions, Erskine made definite proposals to Madison to settle the long cause of friction between the two countries: first, by payment of indemnity for the *Chesapeake* outrage, as French and British warships were to be on an equality in American waters; secondly, British Orders in Council were to be conditionally withdrawn; and American Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts were to be inoperative as to Britain and her dependencies. A promise of a special agent to negotiate a formal treaty was made. The eagerness of the young diplomat led him to pledge the British ministry for more than it could or

would execute. In his judgment the Act of Congress, March 1st, repealing the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts, and excluding French ships from American ports, was sufficient justification for his proffers to Madison. The proposals were published early in April, and the possibility of a peaceful termination of the foreign hindrance to American commerce, and of the end of domestic bitterness was within easy reach. On the 19th of April the president issued a proclamation which gave him much popularity. It read: "Now therefore I, James Madison, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim, that the Orders in Council aforesaid, will have been withdrawn on the said tenth day of June next; after which day the trade of the United States with Great Britain, as suspended by the Act of Congress above mentioned, and an act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports of the United States, and the several acts supplementary thereto, may be renewed."

Instant and expressive joy spread over the entire land. The nation was a unit in gratitude to the president, and in its manifestation the Federalists were so exuberant that the ranks of the Republicans rippled with jealousy. To New England it was a breath of fresh air after partial suffocation. John Randolph for the moment shared in the general rejoicing. Jefferson, however, was somewhat sceptical of the fairness of the dealing of England. If it be true that Madison and Gallatin, trained statesmen, suspected that Erskine had exceeded his authority, it yet remains equally true that the treaty was more favorable to Great Britain than to the United States, for it placed the latter in a hostile attitude to France and renewed a commercial intercourse as beneficial to Britain as to the United States.

Canning disavowed the work of Erskine. In his conversation with Pinkney, in which he commented on the instructions and complained of the unfriendliness of the American notes, he did not give reasons for his dissatisfaction with the arrangement, nor did he propose any change for making the plan as it stood pleasing to himself.

The sky was, however, bright for awhile. Though the treaty was repudiated by Canning, the thousand ships that had put to sea on the repeal of the Embargo Acts after June 10th were allowed by Great Britain to go their way unmolested. Congress assembled on the 22d of May, and adjourned on the 28th of June. Retrenchments were made in army and navy. The leading measure was one by which the embargo provisions were dropped, and French ships of war were readmitted. John Quincy Adams was confirmed as Minister to Russia. Altogether, it was a harmonious session. But anxiety trod on the very heels of delight. Three weeks after the adjournment of Congress, the news reached America that Canning had refused to ratify the work of Erskine, and had severely criticised his propositions. The new minister sent over was the well known Francis James Jackson, whose reputation in the crushing of the Danes had earned for him the title of "Copenhagen Jackson." Canning said in his instructions to the new minister that the Americans had little ground for complaint for the reason that their government had "most freely exercised the right of withholding its ratification from even the authorized acts of its own diplomatic agents." He was, in truth, doing no more than Jefferson had done in the rejection of the Monroe-Pinkney treaty two years before. Jackson's insolent spirit cut short his stay. Early in 1810 he was summoned home, and no other British minister was sent for a year.

The administration was in a dilemma of no ordinary character. There was less readiness for war than a year previous. The treasury was sadly depleted. A vast commerce was afloat. News travelled so slowly that merchants had three months of unrestricted trade before it was known in America that Erskine had been recalled. Whatever profit came to either of the nations, Britain was sure to gain by the temporary relaxations in supplying her army in the Portuguese peninsula. Napoleon, after his humbling of Austria at Wagram, was urging American resentment

against British insolence while he encouraged the violation of the rights of neutrals on all seas. It was a time when Great Britain could not afford even to appear to yield to the ruthless ambition of the Emperor of France. Her conduct toward America was in the line of a determination to set bounds to the "spirit of encroachment and universal dominion which would bend all things to its own standard." It was less a desire to get commercial gains from the treaty than military advantage over Napoleon.

A brief survey of the situation in which the two greatest combatants and the greatest neutral trader of the world found themselves will be of profit. The experimental period following the treaty of 1783 was used by Great Britain in a manner quite contrary to her own choice. She was compelled to allow the United States some of the privileges of a crown colony, and a qualified intercourse was granted between the West Indies and the eastern ports of the United States. The anomaly of a rebel sharing in the benefits of a system which was the consequence of his rebellion illustrated the fact that "geography and nature are stronger than Parliament and the British navy." At first, British ships under the restrictions of the old navigation laws were the carriers of American wheat and other produce to the island colonies. In time of peace, the New England shippers had small chance of profitable trade, but in time of war they had an advantage upon which they seized with utmost enterprise. American ships were now on all seas. Until by her paper blockades and administrative decrees Great Britain turned her favors for neutrals into obstructions, American merchants were amazingly prosperous. Allison, the Tory historian of the period, admits that the adventurous spirit of the Americans had "enabled them to engross during this long war nearly the whole carrying trade of the world," and America had therefore strong ground for complaint against pressure of the "orders" and "decrees," but, according to him, the United States should have turned against France and not against Great Britain.

Inevitable complications of this situation were found in the British system of impressment. Great Britain had been in the habit of taking American citizens from American vessels soon after the adoption of the Constitution, and for sixteen years had thus affronted the new republic. Protests failed; impressment was not stopped, was not regulated, was not even checked. Great Britain needed men as never before in all her history. The number of impressed American seamen on British ships is held to have been equal to the whole number of seamen in the American navy between 1802 and 1812, and on the declaration of war in June, 1812, the number sent to the British prison ships for refusing to fight against their own countrymen is said to have been over two thousand. An Act of Congress made provision for the registration of seamen, but their release when taken by the press-gang did not follow in every case.

The rapid growth of American trade gave Great Britain real cause for alarm. Jay's treaty had been bitterly assailed on this side of the ocean, but its very concessions to Great Britain tied the hands of that country and left the new nation time to breathe and gain strength. On the other hand, the concessions made by Pitt to the United States drew them away from France, and finally provoked hostility between the United States and her old ally. As the war went on American commerce thrived. The great profits offered a strong temptation to invite British sailors to the decks of American ships, for wages rose from eight to twenty dollars a month for a man, and British sailors slipped off from every frigate that touched American shores. Sometimes, as at Norfolk, the crew of the British ship left in a body and shipped on an American sloop. Naturally this sort of thing increased the tension between the two countries.

The deadliest war of Great Britain's history burdened both taxpayer and statesman. It circled the globe. She could not be overnice even toward her best friends, and weaklings could not without peril cross, much less crowd, the path of her fleets which were beating down the imperial

dreams of Napoleon. If non-combatants suffered she could not risk her own integrity simply to guarantee profits to the fishermen of Cape Cod or the planters of Virginia. And if neutral traders became too bold and in reaping immense profits were inclined to offer higher wages than seamen could get at home, and desertions followed, where was the Briton who would commit himself to silence or inaction when the hailing of a passing merchant vessel, or it may be the halting of a man-of-war, would put back under the banner of old England a dozen native-born and much needed sailors? It was in this spirit that Great Britain cried to all: "I take! beware!"

The renewal of the war with France in 1803 set in motion all possible machinery for crippling the foe. The "orders" of the one and the "decrees" of the other were as different as a blow from a shout. The Frenchman was ill at ease and harmless in distant seas and dangerous only in the privacy of his own ports, for he could not have insured a man-of-war within ten miles of the native coast of Nelson for ninety per cent of its value. The Frenchman took his prize by a trap, while the Briton cruised with abandon in foreign waters and dropped insolent anchors in neutral roadsteads.

Between French rapacity and British harshness the American people were not without abundant provocation for fighting. The opposition in Congress in the spring of 1812 urged that the United States had suffered as much from the aggressions of France as from those of Britain, and it came to the argument well fortified with facts. A report laid before the legislators, July 6, 1812, showed that the British seizures of American vessels had amounted to nine hundred and seventeen sail; five hundred and twenty-eight of these had been taken before the Orders in Council of November, 1807, and three hundred and eighty-nine after. The French seizures were five hundred and fifty-eight; two hundred and six before the Berlin and Milan Decrees, and three hundred and seventeen afterward. A large number of captures made by Holland and Spain should be placed to the credit

of Napoleon, as he held these countries under his will. Of the British captures, more than one-half had been declared invalid and restoration ordered; but of the French only one-fourth had been released.

It was, then, not that France was unwilling to do the United States harm, and that there was no reason to suspect the selfish purpose of Napoleon, or that Great Britain was considerate of the feelings of the neutral trader whose products were needed in the Portuguese peninsula, but because the latter was able to hurt us more, that America plunged into a desperate struggle with the heroes of the Nile and won their respect. Napoleon was as eager to fill his treasury with the sales from American cargoes which he had trapped as the Briton was determined to keep neutral traders from supplying the French armies, but there was not the same likelihood that the American sailor impressed from an American deck would be taken for a Frenchman. There was enough similarity between the British and the American tar for the press-gang to do the American shipper severe harm, whereas no one would think of declaring a son of France to be British born. So not only was trade involved in the contention with Britain, but the personality of the American sailor came to the front of the argument and gave real power to the appeals of Henry Clay in behalf of American seamen.

Soon after the inauguration of Madison, Napoleon heard of the repeal of the Embargo and of the Orders in Council of November, 1807, and was urged by Champagny, at one time chairman of the marine committee and now an adviser extraordinary, not to persist in punishing Americans. He, therefore, left United States affairs untouched until he had humbled the Austrians at Wagram in July. Then, according to the report of Armstrong, United States minister at Paris, he declared his purpose not to relax unless America resisted the British doctrines of search and blockade. The confusion increased. The Erskine arrangement seemed to act as an irritant and the Non-Intercourse Act as a bid for

harsh dealing. Napoleon adopted the rule that American merchandise was English property in disguise. Yet in the last months of 1809 a considerable number of American ships went in and out of French ports undisturbed, despite the fact that the secret decrees of Vienna, August, 1809, ordered reprisals for the Non-Intercourse Act. The spider was lying in wait for the fly.

The year closed with embarrassments. The Non-Intercourse Act of March 1st had proved a commercial boomerang; aimed at others, it fell back upon its originators. Trade will seek its own channels if those chosen by law are unsuitable. The regular traffic of New York eyed with envy the illegitimate business at Amelia Island, on the line between Georgia and Florida, where the goods of British smugglers found quick transfer to American cellars, and American cotton waited for its eastward voyage in return. "The government lost its revenue, the shipping lost much of its freight, the people paid double prices on imports and received half prices for their produce; industry was checked, speculation and fraud were stimulated, while certain portions of the country were grievously wronged."

The harmony which had attended the spring session of the Eleventh Congress disappeared by the time the second session convened in November. All the scum of clique and partisan rancor rose to the surface. The Federalists, who had been toasting the obnoxious Jackson in Boston, where he found better welcome than anywhere south of Long Island, were united in their array against the administration. The temporary calm gave way to a revival of suspicion, discontent, and wrangling. The Republicans were divided in their opposition to Great Britain. They dared not revive the Embargo and run the risk of splitting the nation. They were ashamed not to face Great Britain, for they were patriots at heart. For some who breathed the spirit of immediate war, the deficit in the national treasury was a damper not to be disregarded. Gallatin's report was a compelling argument.

The message of the president on November 29th, was calm and colorless, and yet it foresaw a crisis for which it suggested no preparation. Dissensions among the advisers of the president darkened the existing gloom. Congress was shy about facing difficulties, so it began its work by severe animadversions upon the conduct of Jackson, the British minister. William B. Giles, of Virginia, was ill, but was not entirely disqualified for the defence of his resolution to prevent the abuse of privileges on the part of foreign ministers within the United States. Jackson had not now thirty frigates at his back as when he was sent to Copenhagen, so his conduct was declared indecorous, insolent, affronting, insidious, false, outrageous, and premeditated. It was not difficult to prove the insult, but Congress was slow to resent it properly. After Giles's speech, his resolution passed in the Senate without debate, but it required a consecutive session of nineteen hours for the House to pass the resolution by a vote of seventy-two to forty-one.

By universal consent the Non-Intercourse plan of sacrificing the interests of American commerce was brought to an end. But the effort to substitute a satisfactory measure brought to the surface all the personal venom of the malcontents in the Republican ranks. The Macon Bill, which was the legislative door opener to the war of 1812, passed in its first shape, January 29, 1810, having Gallatin for its author, by a vote of seventy-three to fifty-two. It proposed the exclusion of all British and French war and merchant vessels from American harbors, making trade free to American ships alone. In its ninth section it authorized the president to remove these restrictions for either of the two belligerents, in case of a repeal by such belligerent of its obnoxious hindrances imposed on trade. The Senate killed the main principle of the bill, not because it was too violent for commerce or too weak for war, both of which were true, but because of a feud which had ripened from antipathy to conflict between Gallatin and the Smiths of Virginia. The reference of the bill to a joint committee ended in

failure. A second bill was put on the floor, a "weak and spiritless image," of the first one. The quarrel between the Senate and the House continued, but finally the bill was passed as first read, and became the last of the commercial restrictions by which the leading neutral trader of the world sought to coerce the two great combatants of the world.

The effect of the Macon Bill, Number 2, passed May 1, 1810, was to renew free trade with Britain and France till March 3, 1811. If, before that time either of the nations ceased to interfere with American trade by edicts, it was to be announced by the president, and if after three months the other country had not repealed its decrees, there would be a revival of the Non-Intercourse Act in its respect. If neither made such a repeal new legislative action might have to be taken. It amounted to throwing the United States against France, for the mightiest nation on the sea could, by abrogating her "Orders," secure the aid of the western world against France, powerful only on land. The Senate passed the bill by a vote of twenty-one to seven, and the House by a vote of sixty-four to twenty-seven.

In the debate a new note was struck by Henry Clay, appointed by the Governor of Kentucky to fill out the term of Buckner Thruston. This was his second appearance in the Senate where three years before he had served his State by similar appointment. February 22, 1810, he arose to discuss the question of Non-Intercourse. He declared that the United States had much cause for going to war with both aggressors, but most with Britain. He pleaded for the entrance of the new generation upon the field of valor: "The withered arm and wrinkled brow of the illustrious founders of our freedom are melancholy indications that they will shortly be removed from us. Their deeds of glory and renown will then be felt only through the cold medium of the historic page. We shall want the presence and living example of a new race of heroes to supply their places, and to animate us to preserve inviolate what they

achieved." But war was not to the liking of the majority of those who listened to Clay, and a resolution was passed that the army and the navy ought to be reduced. Only indifferent appropriations were made. Work on the Cumberland road was ordered and sixty thousand dollars set apart for that purpose. Five thousand dollars were granted to Robert Fulton for making experiments with torpedoes. One immediate benefit to the administration was the creation of a belief in the country of its impartiality in dealing with Great Britain and France, and a consequent strengthening of the forces of the Republicans. There was a pronounced reaction in the Eastern States from extreme Federalism, and in Vermont Jonas Galusha was elected governor. Republican governors were also chosen in New Hampshire, John Langdon, and in Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry. Massachusetts sent Joseph Bradley Varnum to the Senate in the place of Timothy Pickering. Connecticut alone held its old ground. New York stood firmly with the Republicans, with Daniel D. Tompkins for governor.

As the year 1810 wore on, the attitude of Napoleon toward American commerce developed as that of an utterly unscrupulous exploiter of neutral trade for the benefit of his own treasury. He abandoned all thought of concession when he learned that Great Britain had refused to stand by Erskine's agreement. As soon as Great Britain revoked her Orders he would revoke his Decrees, but not till then. His duplicity was not realized by the American minister at Paris. Years afterward, Thiers wrote of the emperor: "To admit false neutrals in order to confiscate them afterward, greatly pleased his astute mind." The decree of Rambouillet, dated March 23d, but not issued until May, ordered the sale of one hundred and thirty-two vessels, worth with their cargoes eight million dollars, and also directed the confiscation of all American vessels entering ports controlled by France. Napoleon allowed the "Decrees" to stand unrepealed, but ordered a system of licenses

for American vessels. The attitude of Congress, however, compelled some more definite action. Quick to take advantage of the dilemma and ready to throw, if possible, America against Great Britain, Napoleon announced through Champagny, now Duc de Cadore, August 5th, that "My Decrees of Berlin and Milan will have no effect, dating from November 1st; and that he [Armstrong] can consider them as withdrawn in consequence of such Act of the American Congress, on condition that, if the British Council does not withdraw its Orders of 1807, the United States shall fulfil the engagement it has taken to reestablish its prohibitions on British commerce." The American minister, Pinkney, found it hard to make Lord Wellesley believe this declaration to be sincere. Nor need this scepticism excite surprise, for years after the downfall of the emperor, when Gallatin was minister in Paris in 1821, he had revealed to him the duplicity with which Napoleon acted, for he found that Napoleon by a secret decree dated the same day, August 5th, appropriated the plunder of all American vessels captured prior to May 1, 1810.

Madison and his advisers acted upon the Cadore letter somewhat strangely in the view of men who came after him, and announced to the world that commercial restrictions upon American trade with France and her dependencies were removed. The letter, which reached America in a modified form, ran thus: "The Decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked . . . it being understood that in consequence of this declaration the English are to revoke their Orders in Council . . . or that the United States conformably to the Act you have just communicated cause their rights to be respected by the English." The reason given for the repeal was that "the Congress of the United States had retracted its steps and had engaged to oppose the belligerent [Great Britain]."

The reason was false, for the condition did not exist. We were assured that we had the love of the emperor, but the assurance was worth little in the presence of the secret

decree which held in sequestration, without a hearing, all the American ships caught in his trap. When, ten years later, Albert Gallatin learned this he wrote to John Quincy Adams that had it been known at the time we should have taken other ground than that which led to war with England. Armstrong left Paris in September, 1810, and Jonathan Russell, chargé d'affaires, asked if the repeal had taken place. He was put off. Instructions came from Washington to consider the Decrees as revoked. This, in face of proof that seizures of American vessels after November 1st were continuing, made Russell's position difficult if not humiliating. He, however, believed good the promise of the Cadore letter of August 5th, and continued to protest against the French licenses granted by consuls in American ports and sold at a high premium.

The political barometer in Great Britain was not easy reading. Under the bland courtesy of Wellesley the prospect was for fair weather, but the British doubt of the sincerity of Napoleon and the inability to appreciate the force of the fact that America was gradually developing a bitterness against Great Britain, led to one delay after another. Pinkney demanded a plain statement of purpose to repeal the Orders. The Cabinet asked for "indispensable evidence" of fair play on the part of France, and this it was next to impossible to secure. The answer was held off for two years, and came only a few days too late to avert war. The really pacific disposition of some of the Cabinet toward America was thwarted by quarrels in that body, by the insanity of the old king, and by the stagnation and confusion in business.

For five years the United States had had continuous justification for reprisals against Great Britain. Yet the challenge of Madison to that country exposed him to the severest strictures of the Federalists who charged him with being a party to the fraud of France. Nor was this all. He was alleged to have exceeded his authority in the case of the Floridas.

The success of the French in Spain had opened the way for revolutionary movements in the Spanish-American provinces. In Caraccas, Miranda reappeared. He was an adventurer of the type so common in the Latin-American regions, and was the same man who had engaged the interest of Alexander Hamilton and had proposed the "coöperation" of Great Britain and America in his schemes. Young Simon Bolivar had gone to London to solicit from the British the mediation which Spain had refused. Miranda, who was put in command of the Venezuelan troops, gave way before the energy of the Spanish general Monteverde, was arrested, and ended his days in a Spanish prison in Cadiz. Bolivar waited till the storm blew over.

This and similar upheavals in South America were the result of the wide ranging ambition of Napoleon. Seldom has it been given to one man to lay the axe of a selfish purpose to so many political tree roots and yet be denied the shade of their mature substitutes. In this case what gave alarm to Spain, secured liberty to her colonies, especially when they were occupied largely, as the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico were, by American settlers in increasing numbers. The inhabitants of West Florida bordering the Mississippi were mainly of the English-speaking race. They took forcible possession of the fort at Baton Rouge, called a convention, proclaimed themselves independent, and adopted the same symbol for their banner that was afterward chosen by Texas—a lone star. In the struggle that followed between revolutionists and the Spanish loyalists, the president, by proclamation, took possession of the territory from Mississippi River to the river Perdido, the title to which district, it was claimed, had been vested in the United States by the terms of the Louisiana Purchase. We had not then occupied what we had bought. The proclamation stated that the act was a conciliatory one, of equal benefit to Spain and the United States, the final settlement to be made by friendly negotiation. William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Territory of Orleans, was sent

in utmost haste to take possession and to organize a government. By November, 1810, the proclamation of annexation was scattered throughout West Florida. A slight opposition from some of the malcontents was suppressed, and by the end of the year the flag of the United States was flying in undisturbed sovereignty over the four districts west of Pearl River, the territory between Pearl and Perdido Rivers not being reduced to possession. Seldom has so cautious a president so ignored caution and the Constitution.

The men on the east side of Pearl River saw their opportunity to organize a sound government where there had been none. Under a colonel they marched to Mobile, but were repulsed by the Spanish commandant. The Spanish governor, Vincente Folch, disgusted by the lack of support from his government, wrote to the American secretary of state and offered, if not quickly aided from Havana or Vera Cruz, to surrender the whole province of Florida. On receipt of his letter, Madison passed it to Congress with a secret message asking for authority to take possession of the province. A warm discussion was the outcome. The fact of the protest of the British agent was urged by the minority as reason for delay, but more definite action was taken in secret session on the rumor that a British squadron was about to sail from the Bahamas, and the president was authorized to hold East Florida, by arrangement with the local rulers, or against any foreign power undertaking to occupy it.

The advance of the flag of the Union opened up another question, namely, that of the admission of the Orleans Territory as a State. It was objected on the floor of Congress that this proposition was unconstitutional, for two reasons: the territory had been unconstitutionally acquired, and, if not so added, there was no constitutional warrant for making new States out of territory not under the flag at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. One of the youngest of the Federalists, and its most brilliant orator, Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, gave utterance for the

first time on the floor of Congress to the doctrine of secession. His youthful abandon is in remarkable contrast with his latest views, when as a veteran of nine decades, having outlived all his early political contemporaries, he rejoiced to see the Union cemented, though in blood. But in 1811 he spoke with violence: "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union: that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must!" Cries of "Order! Order!" broke in upon his passionate words. Poindexter, delegate from the Mississippi Territory, defended a view of the Union which he lived to change, he and Quincy making mutual exchange of positions, if not of arguments. Quincy lived to say in 1861, as the thunders of Sumter roused the land: "Now I know we are going to be a great nation! I never felt so before."

The opposition of the East in 1811 was unavailing, and yet, though Louisiana waited another year for its admission, the debate of January, 1811, remained a significant sign-board of the parting of the ways between the administration and the New England Federalists in the approaching war. Yet the seizure of the Floridas was in keeping with the views of the greatest of the Federalists, who, not long before his untimely death at the hand of Burr, wrote to the *New York Post*: "Two courses only present (themselves): first, to negotiate and endeavor to purchase, and if this fails, to go to war. Secondly, to seize at once on the Floridas and New Orleans and then to negotiate." To understand the attitude of the Federalists in the coming struggle, a knowledge of the feeling of such men as Quincy in the debate over the admission of Louisiana is quite necessary, for in it was apparent that fear of loss of political power which had been increased by the facts revealed in the census of 1810. The elections for the Twelfth Congress were also an indication of the drift of power, as well as

of population. The Federalists were being reduced to a faction, while the new Republicans were of the sort to give governmental vigor to the doctrines of Jefferson. The latter did not hesitate to call attention to the fact that the fear of the Federalists was not of the expansion of slave territory, but of the internal expansion and economic superiority of the South, and in this fear they included the growth of the whole Northwest. At this juncture they stood for what a severe critic has called "only a short-sighted, ungenerous, particularistic policy."

It is evident that the country was far from being a unit. To make the confusion worse, the chief blunder of the Eleventh Congress deprived the country of its base of credit and the treasury of its most solid support, and alienated capital at a most anxious moment. Application had been made to Congress in season for securing a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank. Modifications in its charter were proposed by its incorporators and favored by Gallatin. Its recent management, whatever might have been said of some of its earlier political interference, had been prudent, and sound financiers showed the evils which would follow its extinction. But party strife and personal enmity, of which Gallatin was the object, proved too much for the bank. A renewal of its charter was denied by a close vote, the casting ballot of the vice-president being required in the Senate, and in the House the vote stood sixty-five to sixty-four for extinction. In the Senate, William H. Crawford was the principal advocate of the bank, while Clay was its leading opponent. Thus Hamilton's scheme was to slumber a few years until men like Clay should become earnest defenders of what they had once mercilessly assailed. The Pennsylvania legislature refused to grant what Congress had withheld, and the nation went to war without financial wisdom.

On the adjournment of Congress, Gallatin offered his resignation of the treasury, because Robert Smith, secretary of state, and his faction prevented his free administration

of the finances of the nation. It was not accepted. Madison, who had to manage himself the most delicate and difficult tasks of the State department, was glad enough to get rid of Robert Smith, and sided with Gallatin. Holding James Monroe ready for the chair from which Smith was to be ousted, Madison offered the post of minister to Russia to Smith, who declined it when he discovered the plans of the president, and initiated a trivial newspaper war in which Madison was vilified for his alleged truckling to the French. In Monroe, Madison gained a loyal and highly competent assistant. It was well, for the president had need of all the support he could muster.

Joel Barlow had been appointed to take the place of Armstrong in the French capital, but he lingered in the United States to defend the administration against the attacks of Smith. Pinkney had terminated his connection with the mission at London before the changes came in the British Cabinet, having arranged for atonement for the old *Chesapeake* outrage on the terms of the Erskine proposition. But he had failed to secure assurance of the entirely pacific purpose of the new minister to America, Foster, who had come in the place of Jackson. Pinkney therefore left London in a huff. According to his instructions, Foster settled for the long-gone *Chesapeake* outrages and made pecuniary provision for the injured and for the families of the dead. But the reparation was too late.

In the three-cornered correspondence between Serurier, the French minister, Foster, the British minister, and Monroe, the new secretary of state, the last diplomatic effort was made by a temporizing administration to force Britain to withdraw her "Orders" without a definite understanding of the real intent of the emperor. Madison secured a vague letter from Serurier concerning the repeal of the "Decrees." This he stretched from ambiguity to definiteness. He wrote to Foster that some late seizures on the part of France were to be understood on the ground that they were made under the municipal and not the international operations of the

"Decrees." The repeal was a fact and Foster must so accept it, even though the president was under the necessity of assuming that the French emperor meant to do more than he had given the Americans assurance of his intent to do. In the spring of 1811, Madison wrote to Jefferson: "It is as you remark, difficult to understand the meaning of Bonaparte toward us." Napoleon alone knew his own mind. He was evasive, and dilatory, and when it suited him, full of duplicity. His mind was now turning to his Moscow campaign, and he held in his wonderfully comprehensive grasp the extraordinary complexities of a land war between France and Russia, and the possibilities of the sea control being the bone of contention between the naval power of Britain and the trading power of the United States. His interest lay in securing strife between the two leading sea powers of the world.

The emperor, on his way to Moscow, must have felt an added exhilaration as he remembered that the great enemy he was striking indirectly on the steppes of Russia was about to be seriously annoyed by the greatest neutral trader of the seas, and no small consolation, which he sorely needed in the reorganization of his affairs after their woeful collapse in the winter of 1812, was to be found in the news of the exploits of the small but unexcelled American navy.

If Madison could prove the emperor honest, the Eastern Federalists might be quieted. On the other hand, Napoleon's mind was too firmly set on maintaining his famous "Decrees" for him easily to abrogate them on complaint of any nation. When Barlow made his flattering speech of reception to the emperor, the latter answered: "I am great enough to be just. But on your part you must defend your dignity against my enemies and those of the Continent. Have a flag, and I will do for you all that you can desire." The end of this bit of diplomacy was soon reached. The prince regent issued a formal statement that the "Orders in Council" would be repealed absolutely if an authentic promulgation of the emperor's repeal of the "Decrees" should

be made. Then, to the amazement of Barlow, the French minister handed him a decree signed by Napoleon, April 28, 1811, declaring that the decrees against American vessels had been inoperative since November 1, 1810, and Barlow was told that this fact had been communicated to the American government. The fraud was too evident to be laid to an attempt to deceive. If the Frenchman was not embarrassed, the American was. For Mr. Madison to admit he had been duped was worse than for Napoleon to confess he had lied. To publish the former fact was to prove a weak policy. As for the other, it was no more than an exaggeration of an utterly unscrupulous might.

It is easy to believe that the approach of his vast campaign into the heart of Russia wrung from the emperor what he was not entirely willing to grant. The mortification of Madison was extreme. The Federalists had charged him with being a tool of Napoleon, and he seemed now defenceless. For the emperor had imposed no conditions precedent to the revoking of the Decrees, and now the decree of St. Cloud of April 28th read: "Being informed of the law of the 2d of March, 1811, by which the Congress of the United States has decreed the exemption of the provisions of the act of non-intercourse . . . and considering that the said law is an act of resistance to the arbitrary pretensions advanced by the British Orders in Council . . . the Decrees of Berlin and Milan are definitely (from the first of November last) considered as no longer in force, so far as regards American vessels." The lie direct could not have been more insulting to a proud nature, but in straits the same nature swallows many a diplomatic affront.

Joel Barlow's brilliant career ended in the midst of the spectacular collapse of the Russian campaign, for he died of inflammation of the lungs at a village near Cracow, December 24, 1812, whither he had gone to present to the emperor his claim for indemnity for the French seizures of American vessels. The demand did not reach the emperor

at this time, for he had left the wreck of his army and reached Paris a week before Barlow died.

The general collapse of the emperor's plans against his chief enemy, Great Britain, put America in peril. There had been a growing inclination in Great Britain to deal leniently with the United States. The press had become less threatening; in the beginning of 1812 a movement against the "Orders" gained headway. Commercial exigencies furnished argument enough for the change of front, for though Britain had no respect for America as a fighter, yet the latter was too good a trader to be set aside, and bankers like Alexander Baring openly attacked the policy of the truculent ministry. The death of the prime minister relieved the government of at least one stubborn opponent of conciliation, and under the vigorous argument of Brougham, Lord Castlereagh, the leader in the House, after the death of Perceval, arose and announced that the government had decided to repeal the Orders of Council. The Orders were withdrawn on June 23, 1812. So ended the long struggle between the Jeffersonian party in America and "the most illiberal government known in England in modern times."

CHAPTER III

DECLARATION OF WAR

THE second term of Jefferson had been largely spent, in diplomatic circles at least, in efforts to keep the peace between the United States and the two peoples at war across the ocean. Offence and restitution were not equal. The former was common and insolent, the latter dilatory and unsatisfactory. The inheritance of Madison was one of burdens and not of relief. The struggle between Great Britain and France opened to the United States a vista of prosperity, and yet imperilled that prosperity to an alarming degree. The rapid increase of the neutral traffic deepened the jealousy of Great Britain. That this was not unnatural is seen from the fact that at one port, Lisbon, the number of British vessels landing cargoes in 1811 was eight hundred and sixty, while the number of American vessels was eight hundred and two, many times in excess of the ships from any other country. The great neutral had to bear the crushing weight of the "Orders" and "Decrees." The United States might have gone to war with both Great Britain and France with good reason, and there were not wanting men, among whom were Josiah Quincy and other Federalists, who, at least early in the contention, advocated unified resistance to both nations.

That the United States had abundant reason for challenging either is admitted by the brilliant English historian Green, when he says: "In the long strife between England

and France, America had already borne much from both combatants, but above all, from Britain," thus acknowledging the justice of the declaration of war in June, 1812. Yet it is worth noticing that Great Britain was growing less inclined to war, while in America the war spirit was steadily increasing. In the prolonged struggle with France the island had grown immensely rich. But the distribution of wealth was not equal. In the fifteen years before Waterloo the population of Great Britain rose from ten to fifteen millions. Naturally, the rate of wages was kept down. Both the farm and the factory laborers were pauperized. In the winter of 1811, the Luddite riots marked the pressure of the transition from handicraft to machinery in the upper counties. The price of wheat so increased that its products, however plentiful upon the tables of the prosperous, were found in scanty measure on those of the poor. The cornfields of America were not open to the British markets because of the world-around blockade. The poor-rate rose fifty per cent, and crime was rampant. The British Cabinet had as many perplexities at home as had the American president across the sea.

The opening of hostilities by America may have seemed "sheer madness" to the British, but it was not an unfavorable time, if the struggle ever was to be attempted. Napoleon's Russian campaign was contemporaneous with the fighting on the Canadian frontier in the beginning of the strife. A year later it would have been plainly too late. France had, nominally at least, desisted from her injuries to American commerce, while Great Britain had not ceased either in name or fact to oppress the trade of the United States. And at the same time Britain was watching Napoleon with far greater concern than that with which she regarded American affairs. Thus with her attention largely bent upon the more dangerous foe to her prosperity, and without ceasing to annoy the commerce of the United States, Great Britain offered her smaller enemy a good chance as well as a good reason for a hard blow.

It was not left to the president to declare for or against war, unassisted by the will of the people. The elections of 1810 had opened a new era. The bitter hate against Great Britain was becoming concentrated at the seat of government. The Rambouillet Decree made a profound and disagreeable impression upon the American people. It caused a decrease of their former warm feelings for their old ally—France, but at the same time there was a gain of new dislikes for the old enemy—England. The autograph letter of the king which recalled the obnoxious Jackson made no mention of a successor. Highly unsatisfactory diplomatic relations existed between the two Cabinets. England may have been slowly yielding, but the discovery of it was difficult to a people daily moving from irritableness without decision to wrath with a purpose. While the relations with France were far from satisfactory those with Great Britain were becoming intolerable.

The new British minister, A. J. Foster, whose action in rendering satisfaction in the *Chesapeake* matter we have recorded, went as far as Erskine in attempting conciliation. But his instructions bound him to protest against the seizure of the Floridas, and to threaten retaliation if America persisted in her policy of non-importation. By the time Foster was formally received by President Madison, July 2d, the American people cared very little about the *Chesapeake* affair, for they felt that some sort of satisfaction had fallen to them in the affair of the *Little Belt*. Graver matters were now coming to the front, and when the British minister, in referring to the seizure of the Floridas, protested solemnly “against an attempt so contrary to every principle of public justice, faith, and national honor,” he did not receive respectful attention for his claims. His cause grew weaker as his words grew stronger. The new secretary of state, Monroe, was sensitive upon the point of the Spanish ownership of Florida for he held that it had been included in the transaction by which the United States gained Louisiana, and the president was not without feeling upon the

declaration of Foster that the French "Decrees" had not been withdrawn. And president and secretary were a unit upon the revocation of the obnoxious "Orders," the one thing the minister refused to grant. The hardest point of pressure was the point of stubbornest resistance.

The *Little Belt* affair to which reference has been made, and which rendered the already difficult task of Foster almost impossible, was occasioned by the purpose of Great Britain to shut up New York with a tight blockade. The renewal of the trade between France and Great Britain had been the summons for the closing of the port. This alone would have gone far to arouse the nation to war. Blockade, impressment, and search were not the words with which the British minister might hope to conjure peace out of a war cloud. Two of the British ships, the *Melampus* and the *Guerrière*, lay off Sandy Hook, where they intercepted traders bound for French ports. Commodore John Rodgers was in command of the forty-four gun frigate *President* under cruising orders to protect American vessels from British interference. Several cases of impressment had lately occurred off the New York coast, May 16, 1811. The *Little Belt* was looking out for the frigate *Guerrière* for which she had dispatches. Mistaking the *President* for the *Guerrière* she endeavored to close, but finding her error she drew off. On this the *President* gave pursuit, and at about one hundred yards she hailed the unknown vessel, which was now cleared for action and waiting. At this point testimony differs. Each ship claimed that the first gun was fired by her opponent. A shot was followed by a quick reply. Then for three-quarters of an hour, according to the statement of the surgeon of the *Little Belt*, but for only eighteen minutes at most, according to the oath of every American officer, each threw broadsides until the rigging and sails of the British vessel were badly cut up, and her guns unmanageable. At the close of the firing, Rodgers discovered the name of his foe and gave his own. When morning dawned, the *Little Belt*, almost a



John Rodgers.

After the paintings by Charles Willson Peale, now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.



David Porter.

wreck, with eleven dead and twenty-one wounded, got under way for Halifax. Slight damage and one seaman wounded were the issue of the conflict so far as the *President* was concerned. The American Court of Inquiry exculpated Rodgers, and its judgment was wisely accepted by the British minister. He received without protest the issue of the court, and turned his attention to non-importation, the Floridas, and, above all, to the Orders in Council.

The correspondence between Foster and Monroe over the great question of blockade shows the presence of a much-needed man in the cabinet. Monroe, with solid though slow mind, had had some experience in diplomacy, and was in noteworthy contrast to his fussy and incompetent predecessor, Smith. It was, indeed, fortunate that the chasm of ill feeling that had yawned in his native State between him and his rival had been closed at this critical time in the history of the nation. Not only did Madison need buttressing against Great Britain, but his attitude toward France was sufficiently ambiguous to demand all the support that could be got when it came to satisfying Foster with the statements that the French minister gave the president touching the Napoleonic decrees. Madison was waiting for definite assurance from Serurier that the Decrees had been withdrawn, and meanwhile was trying to convince Foster that they had been withdrawn.

Premonitory symptoms in the West indicated the rise of the war fever. There a struggle between the frontiersmen and the Indians heralded the coming of the strife between the two great branches of the English-speaking race. William Henry Harrison had been appointed governor of the Indiana Territory, and with energetic and prudent management of the mingling life of pushing immigrants, whiskey-maddened red men, and scheming British agents, had quieted by 1805, Indian titles to thousands of acres. He was liked and trusted by the Indians until they became corrupted by the white settlers' vices, rendered discontented by Canadian agents, and their fur trade crippled. Their future

was indeed a gloomy one, and they were in 1811 ripe for revolt.

One strong figure stands out of the ordinary amid the shadows of the camp fires of the savages. The wrongs of his race burned in the heart of a Shawnee warrior, Tecumseh, "flying tiger." He was one of three boys born at a birth to a Creek mother near the present Piqua, Ohio. He was aided in his schemes by his brother, Elkswatawa, better known as the "Prophet," whose incantations and harangues violently stirred the superstitious Indians. In 1808, the Prophet was denounced by Harrison, and steps were taken to check the wily chieftain. Tecumseh surpassed his fellows in craft and self-control. He saw his ancestral prairies slipping into the hands of the whites. The unfinished work of Pontiac had the same effect upon this son of the forest that the victory of Miltiades had upon the Athenian Themistocles in other centuries. Tecumseh was waiting for his chance.

At a conference held in Vincennes in August, 1810, between Harrison and Tecumseh, the latter was firm in his purpose to "adhere to the old boundary." But, on July 27, 1811, the chief promised to become an ally of the United States if that nation refrained from purchasing land from individual tribes,—a process which Tecumseh regarded as detrimental to the welfare of the whole body of Indians. If this condition were not complied with, he declared his intention to return to the support of Great Britain. The position of the chief was supported by precedent, for in the Greenville treaty of 1795 the United States had advanced the principle now insisted upon by Tecumseh, in his claim that cessions should not be accepted from separate tribes, but from the whole body of Northwestern Indians. But this plan was not to Harrison's liking. Local and not confederate ownership was the basis of his negotiations with the Indians. He had, in 1809, concluded treaties with a number of tribes whereby they surrendered their claims to millions of acres of land through which the Wabash flowed.

Tecumseh went South to stir the Indians with hopes of a successful uprising. Signs of hostility developed in the Prophet's town on the Wabash. During the month of October, 1811, Harrison gathered about him from the Ohio valley some United States regulars and Indiana and Kentucky militiamen. With about one thousand men he left Fort Knox, at Vincennes, and pushed forward to the site of Terre Haute, where he paused to erect a stockaded fort which he named for himself, and garrisoned it. He cautiously felt his way up the valley of the Wabash, and when within a few miles of the Prophet's town consented to a parley at the request of the Indians, who were now alarmed. The spot was not a mile from the Indian town. Harrison arranged his small army of nine hundred soldiers in an irregular quadrilateral on the banks of Tippecanoe River. The tribesmen were under the influence of the Prophet. By four o'clock in the morning of November 7, 1811, the Indians advanced to surprise the camp of Harrison. A bitter contest followed, in which the Indians were worsted, leaving dead upon the battlefield thirty-eight of their warriors. The loss of the little army of whites amounted to one hundred and eighty-eight, sixty-one being killed or mortally wounded. Among the dead was Major "Joe" Daviess, of Kentucky, a brother-in-law of Chief Justice Marshall.

Tippecanoe gave additional momentum to the gathering resentment against the British for their use of the Indians in attempting to hold back the waves of frontiersmen. It threw the Indians, after a short time of indecision, into open alliance with the enemies of the United States, and Tecumseh, on his return from the South, finally crossed the line and joined the Canadian forces. Harrison was mistaken in his view that the Indians would prefer neutrality and seek peace with the Americans. For in April, 1812, they began hostilities along the frontier, and the murder of some settlers spread terror among the inhabitants of the Territory and drove the survivors to the nearest forts. But

Tecumseh was not quite prepared for warfare. He felt that the followers of his brother had anticipated his plans, and at a grand council on the Wabash between Tippecanoe and Fort Wayne he spoke of the unfortunate affair at Tippecanoe as due to the haste of some young men and of General Harrison, and declared that had he been at home "there would have been no bloodshed at the time." He would not now strike, but wait for the action of Congress.

That the British had been secretly aiding the Indians was evident from the efforts of their commanders in 1811, when the ablest of them all, General Brock, seeing that war was inevitable, contemplated seeking aid from the surrounding tribes. The times were opportune for this. For fifteen years after the conclusive battle of Fallen Timbers, there had been peace on the borders, but it was won and held by force. The Ohio valley was filling up with a vast throng set on making better use of the fertile acres than their old owners had made. It was not only that the slumbering hostility of the Indians found nursing in the schemes of the Canadians, but that the irritation of the savages was accented by the coming of the inevitable wave of white population against which they could not make head. The Indians had suffered from failures of crops for two years. Game was growing scarce. The red man was apprehensive, either when eyeing the uncertainties of nature or the advance of the white hunter, and so became a fit instrument for those who offered him most adequate aid in his time of danger. The agents on both sides were active in attempts to gain his assistance. The celebrated trader, Dickson, is said to have spent ten thousand dollars of his own money in the spring of 1812 in frustrating the efforts of the Americans. The offensive activity of the emigrant from the eastern States and the larger purse opened by the Canadians wrought upon the Indian and confirmed him in his belief that the best friends lay to the north. The Indians did not reap lasting benefit from the support of the British. Great Britain used them when it seemed expedient, but disavowed their acts

and denied them support, in fact deserted them, when it served her interests so to do.

While the frontier army of Harrison was marching up the Wabash against the Indian encampment, the members of the Twelfth Congress were assembling in Washington a month earlier than usual. In the Republican press the war fever was steadily rising. The ill temper of the people had been constantly excited by Great Britain's refusal to repeal the "Orders," by Pinkney's return, by the affair of the *Little Belt*, and by the growing friction on the border between the settlers and Indians. The summons of the president had been taken as a prognostic of possible war. The whole country was eager with expectation of some sort of bold action to be taken after so long a time spent in ineffective diplomacy. Three days before the battle of Tippecanoe the two Houses assembled, November 4, 1811. George Clinton, vice-president, presided over the Senate. The two bodies had undergone significant changes. The upper House had lost Pickering and had only six Federalists left, of whom four had come from Connecticut and Delaware. But the popular elections throughout the country had sent up men to the lower House whose presence spoke in even firmer tones of the altered sentiments of the younger Americans. The control was plainly in the hands of a new generation. In some States they swept all before them. Sixty-one men who were in the Eleventh Congress were not returned to the Twelfth. Out of one hundred and forty-two members the Federalists numbered thirty-seven.

Since the days of the achievement of independence no such virile and determined crowd of legislators had assembled for the direction of national interests. They were not inexperienced. To name them is to name the men in part who filled the highest places in the ranks of statesmen and in popular esteem for the next forty years. Of this number of really eminent men there were Henry Clay, from Kentucky; John C. Calhoun, from South Carolina; Langdon

Cheves, from the same State; Felix Grundy, from Tennessee; and P. B. Porter, from New York. All were under forty-one years, Calhoun was not thirty, and the chief exponent of the new spirit, Henry Clay, barely thirty-four.

The temper of the House was shown in its first official act, the election of Clay for Speaker. He received seventy-five votes, Bibb of Georgia, thirty-eight, and Macon, three. Clay made up his committees for war. The committee on foreign relations was composed of such men as Porter, Calhoun, Grundy; Cheves was appointed chairman of the committee on naval affairs. Clay was the veriest impersonation of the new spirit of the West, which for good often and for error sometimes was to bend the nation to a broader and more statesmanlike policy. His early career in brief must needs be sketched, to know the man. Henry Clay was the son of a Baptist preacher, in a neighborhood of Virginia called "The Slashes." His father's rich voice he inherited and developed. The youth also fell heir to the patriotic spirit of his mother, who, in the days of Colonel Tarleton's ruthless raids, when offered compensation for damages done to her slender property, flung the gold that lay on the table into the fire. The scanty schooling that the boy received was such as fell to the lot of any quick youth emerging from the rough environments of the log cabin, the earthen floor, the bench of hewn logs, and the primitive methods with their weak curriculum. He idled little. In bare feet he followed the plow or hung on to the flanks of the sorry pony he rode to the mill on Pamunkey River. Here he earned the sobriquet that served him well in more than one political campaign, "The Mill Boy of the Slashes." He possessed a native dignity that won for him general respect, whether he was selling groceries, or copying papers in the Chancery Court.

Fortune gave him the place of secretary to the truly noble-minded George Wythe, Chancellor of the High Court of Chancery. Wythe was a holder of eminent places of trust in Virginia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence,

a warm advocate of the adoption of the Constitution, which he helped to frame, the emancipator of all his slaves, and the practical illustrator of the most humane principles of his day. Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall were the youthful predecessors of Clay in his law office. For four years Clay, the tall, graceful, ambitious youth, was the intimate of the venerable chancellor. Another year spent in the office of the attorney-general of Virginia completed his preparation for law. At the age of twenty-one he left Richmond for the West. He grounded himself in the popular favor of the vigorous and somewhat cultivated town of Lexington, where he soon attained great fame as a criminal lawyer. He became, what he had not been, a free liver, and depended less upon hard and steady labor in study than upon his knowledge of men. Yet he toiled for the top, and quickly rose to the first place among the lawyers of Kentucky. His marvellous voice, his free fellowship combined with a commanding dignity, his rare knowledge of men, his fiery patriotism, his quick appreciation of the strength and weakness of an opponent's argument, his style having in it a sort of billowy motion, yet not unusually florid or figurative, his intensity of passion, and his daring, made him the idol of his State and gave him easy leadership among the strong men of the nation.

He served a short term in the Senate in 1806, when three months under the legal age, and plunged into the activities of the staid body. He became the leader of those who believed in the power of the Constitution to aid internal improvements. On his return home he found his popularity on the increase, and was again sent to the Senate to fill out an unexpired term. This time he gained distinction by his part in the West Florida case. In his defence of the administration he was "decidedly the most conspicuous and important figure." He opposed the recharter of the national bank, following in this the instructions of his legislature. He had certainly enough ability and influence to have saved the bank. Not finding in the dignified quiet of the Senate

the proper field for his genius, the young orator turned to the House, and in its "turbulence" he was at home. He came to the front as its natural leader. He used his great powers and high position to push the nation into war. And it came the quicker for his Speakership. The new national spirit burned in Clay with fierce energy, and attracted the younger generation to him and his cause as the truest statement of the feelings of the hour. Popular resentment against foreign insult and oppression had finally found its voice. Age was conciliatory. Youth was impatient. In the speech of the tall, clean-shaven, blue-eyed Kentuckian with large mouth and melodious voice, the people discovered its new self.

Clay was not alone in this emphasis of the new note of the expanding life of an ambitious nation. With him was associated Felix Grundy, from Tennessee, born the same year as Clay, in the same State, and like Clay rising to prominence in Kentucky to become chief justice before he was thirty years old. Then, removing to Tennessee, he became one of the State's representatives in Congress. A still greater man was John C. Calhoun, from South Carolina, an honor man of Yale, with the rarest art of clear statement, of the highest personal worth, a lover of his State, and also a nationalist at this time of the very noblest sort. He was under thirty years of age when he arose to answer as no other had done the sharp thrusts of John Randolph. For the first time the Republicans had men who could pick up the gauntlet flung down by the brilliant eccentric of Virginia or the classic and fiery Quincy from Massachusetts.

On November 5th, the message of Madison was read to the assembled lawmakers. Its note of defiance was characteristic of the timid yet irritated man at the head of affairs. If it meant anything it meant war; yet he feared what he had to proclaim. He reviewed the steps of British insolence. He spoke of the revocation of the Decrees of France as an accomplished fact, yet complained of the unrepaired wrongs which were still suffered from her inexplicable

unfriendliness. He urged the importance of national trade and declared that "the hostile inflexibility" of the British is our reason for maintaining our rights. The note of the president was pitched somewhat higher in the report of Peter B. Porter, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, which was presented on the 29th of November. The paper from the committee recommended a half dozen resolutions: that the regular army be filled up; that ten thousand additional regulars for three years be enlisted; that fifty thousand volunteers be mustered into service to be put under the orders of the president; that militia be ordered out according to need; that the navy be fitted out to the limit, and that merchantmen be allowed to arm. The speech with which Porter followed the report heightened the emphasis upon the necessity for warlike preparations. He had no hope of a peaceful settlement of affairs. He favored war by governmental force on land and war by private enterprise on the sea. In the Committee of the Whole a large majority carried the resolutions, the highest number of nays being twenty-two on the first and the last, and the lowest, eight, on the fourth ballot.

The Federalists needed to say little in this debate. The chief opponent of the Republicans was John Randolph. He could not sit still when so many of their arguments were so open to attack. He charged them with playing into the hands of Napoleon. "If, instead of being as I am, my memory clouded, my intellect stupefied, my strength and spirits exhausted, I had the completest command of my faculties, I should still fail to give utterance to that strong detestation which I feel towards such characters as Genghis, Tamerlane, Kouli Khan, and Bonaparte, malefactors of the human race, who grind down men into mere material of their impious and bloody ambition! Yet, under all the accumulated wrongs and insults and robberies of the last of these chieftains, we are about to become a party to his views, a partner in his wars." While no general answer was made to Randolph and while the Republicans did not need to

do more than strengthen the determination of their own following in anticipation of war, yet several took occasion to make sharp attacks upon the Virginian. The debate lasted nearly a month. Toward the close of it, the most formidable opponent of Randolph on the floor delivered the speech, December 12th, which marked him as master of a dignified and lucid style and of a most dexterous and inevitable logic, accompanied by passion always held in leash, with power to carry the hearers to his conclusion if the premises be granted, such as few men have exhibited in the world's great debating assemblies. It was John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. He contended that a nation as well as an individual was under obligations of honor to repel a first insult.

By a practically unanimous vote the House favored war, and there would have been little difficulty in executing its wishes had it not been for the embarrassing provisions sent down from the Senate under the leadership of W. B. Giles, of Virginia. Giles had long been in opposition to Madison, had "intrigued with every other factious spirit to embarrass the government," and now proposed to sacrifice the nation to his hate of its president. His proposition in the Senate to increase the ten thousand men for three years to twenty-five thousand for five years, was denounced as a scheme to deplete the treasury, and to palsy the right arm of the government; yet with the aid of the Federalists it was carried. On going to the House it was amended and sent back to the Senate, which immediately struck out the amendments. On a second return the House yielded and the bill became a law. It made provision for twenty-five thousand regulars and fifty thousand volunteers, but in the case of the latter, though the right of the president to use the militia in service outside the United States was not definitely settled for or against, that right was clouded. Madison signed the bill without a word upon the volunteer service outside the Union. In this fact can be found the reason for the disgraceful failures in the assaults upon Canada.

In the matter of the organization of the defence by sea there was even greater division among the Republicans than in the discussion upon the land forces. On December 7th, Langdon Cheves, chairman of the Committee on Maritime Defence, reported in favor of the building of a goodly navy. The proposition found as much favor among the Federalists as among the Republicans. The former had believed in readiness for war in time of peace. The latter, inheriting the traditions of Jefferson, had many a prejudice to overcome, and Cheves did not succeed in holding his party to his view. Grundy was as eager as Cheves for fight, but he deserted him in the debate. Clay, Calhoun, Lowndes, and Porter stood up with Cheves, thereby breaking with their old party views and rising above their narrowness. But it was asking too much of the planters of the South and the hunters of the West to expect them to support a bill to increase the tiny navy fivefold. Not another frigate, not another dollar for a repair dock would the majority vote for war. Though Federalists like Quincy and Lloyd in the Senate found it to their way of thinking to support the motion for the increase of the navy, Cheves was unable to command the backing of his party, and the prospect for a united front was poor indeed. Many believed with Randolph that "a standing army is the life and soul of a military despot," and more believed with R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, that "navies have been and always will be engines of power, and employed in projects of ambition and war."

It was not till toward the close of January, 1812, that the protracted debate on the Naval Establishment came to an end with a refusal to build any more frigates, and a vote of only three hundred thousand dollars for repairs. The temper of the legislators preparing for uncertain war was not cheered by the report of the secretary of the treasury, whose estimates of expense in the event of war and plans for impost duties and taxes produced consternation in the House. But before adjournment, custom duties were doubled, treasury notes to the amount of five million dollars were authorized,

and a six per cent loan of eleven million dollars was voted. The latter proved very difficult to place. There were, however, some encouraging features that gave a brisker tone to the discussions of the Congress so heavily burdened with responsibilities. From various legislatures there came resolutions in earnest support of the patriotic plans of Congress. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, North Carolina, and Tennessee sent pledges of sympathy and of resistance against further oppression. Patriotic governors of the great States sounded a clear note of loyalty to the national government in its hour of anxiety.

The country needed a yet more compelling motive for war. Nor was it long delayed. The Federalists opposed everything but preparation for war. The Republicans were not united on anything. An event occurred which did much to settle the wavering, and to irritate the party disposed to war against that favoring peace at any price. On a dark night in February, 1812, an Irishman, John Henry, paid a visit to the president. Henry was a naturalized citizen of the United States. He bore a letter of introduction from Governor Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts. His apparent truthfulness and the real importance of the disclosures which he promised to make favored his purpose to obtain an interview with the president. His information had been collected in New England, where he acted as a spy under the direction of Sir James Craig, then the Governor of Canada. The hatred of the Federalists against the embargo of 1808 offered an opportunity, so thought Craig, to explore to its furthest recesses the darkness of "the cave of sedition." The possibilities of alienating the disaffected section of the Union were inducements of no ordinary nature. In his earlier letters from Boston, Henry had pictured to the governor, in strong language, the unrest he observed and noted. He suggested the irritation of the South and the conciliation of the East. But finally he owned that he had overstated the disloyalty of the Yankees. A promise of Craig to pay Henry five thousand dollars

annually was not kept, and on the death of the governor, Henry was a vain suitor for recompense at the hands of London officials, though he was well received in social circles. In his indignation he turned to the president, and for his disclosures of the intrigues to which he had been a party he received fifty thousand dollars. But ill fortune dogged his heels, for a friend, a "Count" Crillon, gave him a deed to an estate in France for the greater part of the money, and left him to search for it in the land where he was safe from his fellow countrymen. The draft was charged at Washington to "the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse."

Henry was called a "political torpedo," but the explosion was not so dreadful as some expected. It served to exasperate the war party against the peace party, and the nation as a whole against Great Britain. When the evidence submitted by Henry was first read there was great uneasiness among the Federalists, for no one knew what might be revealed. For if John Quincy Adams were not a false witness there had been danger of separation in the event of the failure of Congress to repeal the embargo. The letters proved the desire of Great Britain to break up the Union, but were not conclusive of the complicity of Boston in the joint attempt. The New England Federalists were incensed against the administration, and even charged fraud, but the documents were genuine. Early in May, Lord Holland made a motion in Parliament calling for the correspondence connected with the intrigue, but was defeated by the ministers, who showed their guilty uneasiness.

In the heated state of the public mind war was now only a question of time. The leaders of the majority in Congress were daily increasing their hold on the situation and marking out the path for the nation's progress. They were impatient and daring, some of them reckless; the Cabinet was more prudent, the president somewhat vacillating, the country watching eagerly each new step taken by the national officials. Henry Adams in his searching review of this

period says that "no sign of hesitation could be detected in Madison's conduct between the meeting of Congress in November and the declaration of war in June." Yet we have a right to assume that such a man as the president would hesitate in the slow evolution of the national programme unless the most positive proofs supported him in his policy. In the situation it became important to commit the president to a definite proposition. He was ambitious to succeed himself as chief magistrate. The leaders of the party had their programme. It contemplated a short embargo as a preliminary of war. They went to Madison with this, and events show that he followed out their scheme in detail. He committed himself before the nominating caucus was held. It has been charged that Madison agreed to the proposed plans in consideration of nomination for a second term. No conclusive evidence of the fact has been found. Clay emphatically denied any threat or collusion. But when Josiah Quincy said openly in the House within a year, that "plunging into a war with Great Britain was among the conditions on which the support for the presidency was made dependent," this went unchallenged, but a direct bargain was denied. James Fiske, of Vermont, is said to have declared that he was a member of the committee that threatened to forsake Madison unless he declared for war. If Madison was not coerced he was quite willing to adopt the suggestions of more virile men than himself. He was not free from trouble in the handling of French affairs. The conduct of the French was highly exasperating. Foster kept asking for proof that the "Decrees" had been repealed, and the president kept resorting to subterfuges which might not have been so easy had not the administration, like Macbeth, gone in so far that pushing on were now less an evil than going back.

In November, 1811, Gallatin had sent in a report to Congress in which he advocated either submission, war, or the continuance of the embargo. It was a strong paper, was favored by Madison, and in clearness and calmness, it

has "not been surpassed in the political literature of the United States." But the House gave it a lukewarm reception. It was beyond them. They had too much pride for the first, were not ready for the second, if indeed Quincy were not correct, and some meaner excuse did not prevail.

On the 15th of March, 1812, Clay proposed an embargo of thirty days as a preliminary to war. But this appearing too short a time, it was finally fixed at sixty days and was so recommended in the confidential message of the president, April 1st. The bill moved swiftly through the House to its passage by a vote on the same day of seventy to forty-one. All rules were suspended on the following day in the Senate, and by a vote of twenty to thirteen the bill was amended so as to make the time ninety days, and in this form it passed the House, and under the approval of the president it was made a law on April 4, 1812.

The situation offered avarice its chance. On the last day of March, letters were sent South as well as North to give information of the proposed measure, and a great "hurly-burly to palsy the arm of the government" ensued. Horses dropped dead in the streets of Baltimore as they strained under the great loads and the pressure of the hour when making utmost efforts to get cargoes out of harbor before the bill should become a law. In this "all parties united." The indignant editor of *Niles' Register* recalls the words of Burke: "Talk to me not of the patriotism of the merchant—his counting house is his temple, his desk is his altar, his ledger his bible; and his money is his god." The decline of public spirit bore witness to the need of the cementing power of common self-sacrifice and of the inspiration of a common heroism.

The vote upon the embargo indicated the desire of the moderate Republicans for peace. Negotiation might prevail, if only the president dared to send a commission for peace, and with the changes in the British Cabinet there might be no war with the mother country. But in the country, outside of New England, the enthusiasm for war was strong,

and even there the veteran John Adams proclaimed himself in favor of open conflict. However, not even the Henry episode was sufficient to retain the Republicans in power in Massachusetts, for on April 6th the State fell back into the hands of the Federalists. Gerry had redistricted the State to secure a partisan triumph, and his name has come down in American history as the author of the "gerrymander" whose influence in politics has given unfair advantage to the minority in too many instances. Caleb Strong was elected governor by a majority of over one thousand. It was unfortunate for the administration. No adjournment of Congress was allowed, and the members being at home on leave had opportunity to feel the beatings of the popular pulse, now eager for, and now in doubt about, military preparations.

The death of the vice-president, George Clinton, on the 20th of April removed a prominent figure of heroic mould. With the old men passing away and the young men forging to the front, it was not to be expected that debate throughout the land would be characterized by coolest argument. The country was in a wretched state of preparation, yet Congress came to its final conclusion that it would be best to declare war and trust the people to support the administration. The president himself said it would be well "to throw forward the flag of the country, sure that the people would press forward and defend it." On May 18th, the Republican Congressional caucus nominated Madison for the second time and placed Gerry on the ticket for vice-president. But at the New York legislative caucus the Republicans put in nomination De Witt Clinton for the presidency, a choice which was of no good augury for united and harmonious advancement of war plans.

On May 19th the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, so long expected, arrived with despatches. Lord Castlereagh had taken the place of Lord Wellesley, and it was his note, dated April 10th, that, according to Mr. Madison's statement years afterward, furnished "the more immediate impulse" to the war, for



James Madison.

*After the engraving made by C. B. J. Fèvre de Saint-Mémin
in 1807, now in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington.*



Dorothy Payne Madison.

*From the crayon drawing by James Sharpless, now in
Independence Hall, Philadelphia.*

his refusal to revoke the Orders in Council left no place between war and disgrace. Events now moved rapidly. On June 1, 1812, Madison sent to Congress a message, which was heard in secret session. It contained a recital of wrongs endured, and made statement of four reasons for resistance. The first emphasized as the chief grievance of the United States the impressment of American seamen. The second complaint charged the British cruisers with violating the peace of the coasts. The third and fourth grievances were the "pretended blockades" and the Orders in Council. It is interesting to note that though Madison had threatened war he had not, before this time, made the rights of American seamen a reason for going to war. The really good reason for taking up the challenge was not put to the front till after 1811, and daily impressments had not stirred either Federalists or Republicans to assert the sacredness of the rights of the American sailor. In his message of November, 1811, the president had not mentioned the matter. The war message was referred to the committee of which Calhoun was the most able member, and he brought in, on the 3d of June, a motion on behalf of the committee for "an immediate appeal to arms." The third reading was ordered by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine. The bill suffered over a week's delay in the Senate. Discussion was conducted in secret session. Either weariness or fear of defeat led Clay and his friends to exclude the public from hearing the discussion of the most momentous subject before the American people. The Republican majority in the House was seventy, while the majority for the bill was only thirty. The Senate was even less ready for war than the House. It was not until June 17, 1812, that the upper body brought their hesitation to an end by a vote of nineteen to thirteen. Six Republicans voted with the Federalists. At three o'clock in the afternoon the bill received the signature of the president and was made a law, committing the United States to a dubious conflict with Great Britain.

In the House, the representatives of New Hampshire, most of them, of Massachusetts, those of Connecticut, of Rhode Island, of New Jersey, of Delaware, some from New York, some from Virginia, and North Carolina, one from Pennsylvania, and three from Maryland, were opposed to the war. Representatives from Vermont, some from New York, all but one from Pennsylvania, most from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, all from South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana, voted for the war. In the Senate, Massachusetts and Maryland were divided. New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and Delaware voted against the war. Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio voted for the war. Of the large seaboard cities, the members from Boston and New York were opposed to the war, while those from Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans favored it.

The excitement throughout the country was intense on the publication of the act committing the country to a highly dubious conflict. Massachusetts, through its legislature, memorialized Congress against the declaration of hostilities. John Jacob Astor led a list of merchants urging restrictive measures in preference to open conflict. Public meetings were held, some of which voted protests against the act of Congress, while others warmly supported it. It is not to be wondered at that we find so much more evidence of a desire to submit than to fight; for the people had for so long contented themselves with protests and smuggling, with buying licenses for trade both from France and Great Britain, that they had suffered the loss of the finer spirit which now and then breathes in a downright assault upon a foe, when honor and right are involved.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

THE manner in which the news of the declaration of war was received by the people clearly indicated that the country, though irritated to the point of resistance, was far from being united upon a policy of conflict. The struggle promised to be, for a while, at least, a "party war," and yet not all the members of the party which had precipitated the struggle agreed upon the necessity for it. The winter-long discussion had evidenced the disinclination of the moderate Republicans to become responsible for the waste of treasure and the shedding of blood which were sure to follow the first blows. Not all the oratory of Clay, nor the acute logic of Calhoun, nor the wisdom of the patriotic Lowndes could solidify their party, much less the nation.

The most serious phase, however, of the case was the temper of the political leaders of the opposition party in the Eastern States. This took immediate shape at Washington in a minority report which protested against the action of the majority in Congress. The paper was largely the product of the able pen of Josiah Quincy, and was signed by thirty-four members of Congress. It had a wide circulation and was significant of a spirit which was to annoy and to baffle the administration from the summer of 1812 to the winter of 1815. On its appearance it was greeted with wrath, or scorn, or applause, according to the section of the Union and the views of the reader. It dealt

at length with the causes which had combined to bring the nation to its present state; it denied that the United States were sufficiently prepared for conflict; it scouted the idea that war could alleviate the ills under which they were laboring; it vehemently protested against a war of offence and invasion, which the one about to begin must become; it declared that the war proposed was not demanded by any code of morals or sentiments of honor; it urged the contention that we were as much obliged to fight France as Great Britain, and here the Federalist hatred of the Jacobinical principles of the Paris mob glowed in the page; it pointed out the fact that nothing was to be gained by war, and closed with the fervent appeal: "Let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable and, to us, innocent colonies of Great Britain with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors? . . . At a crisis of the world such as the present, and under impressions such as these, the undersigned could not consider the war into which the United States have, in secret, been precipitated, as necessary, or required by any moral duty, or any political expediency."

The weight of this paper, with its array of arguments as well as of names, was not small. It gave definiteness to many an old prejudice and force to many an old argument. From its issue to the days of the Hartford Convention the positions set forth in it were reiterated by members of the "Peace Party," as those who opposed the war were called.

The heart of the opposition lay in New England. In no other section could the British minister, Jackson, have had the reception which was given him in Boston. In June, 1810, after his failure in Washington to effect a settlement of the Erskine diplomatic tangle, Jackson wrote home of "having never less than two engagements a day." On the 10th of June he dined with three hundred gentlemen. The day following, at another public dinner given in his honor,

Timothy Pickering gave "The world's last hope—Britain's fast anchored isle," a toast which greatly stirred the Federalist admirers of Great Britain. Such a reception as this doubtless became a soothing memory when the ambassador, passing through Albany, saw himself burned in effigy.

In Massachusetts, the power of hereditary leadership and the growing dissent of democracy were almost at balance at the end of the first decade of the century. For several years the State had swung back and forth between the two parties, and within the limit of ten years Mr. Sullivan, the standard bearer of the Federalists, and Mr. Gerry, the leader of the Republicans, were elected to the gubernatorial office four or five times each. In the main the social, the literary, and the clerical guides of the State were in the ranks of the Federalists, while the Republican party contained the less conservative of the religious thinkers as well as the plainer folk who had gradually been feeling their way out from under the wings of oligarchic culture. Politically the State was at this time quite evenly balanced, but when the tension of war measures was increased even a little the effect was to carry back many of the political radicals into the camp of the conservatives. The clergy of Massachusetts had not yet lost their power in matters political. The story of their grip on the thought and the life of their church membership has no parallel in the history of the country. The infidelity imported from France which it was alleged had overrun the West and had the peculiar favor of Jefferson was cause for suspicion on the part of the guides of civil as well as of religious opinion in New England. There the distrust, if not the positive hatred of the ex-president died hard.

To the religious ban was added the well-founded charge that the late president was a poor political economist, to whose views Madison had fallen heir; and when his embargo went into operation it was New England that uttered the most violent protest, and none others rejoiced as did the merchants and sailors of the East when trade with Europe was restored. The embargo disturbed New England from

the beginning and steadily the exasperation of tradesmen and shipowners deepened as time went by. Yet public opinion fluctuated, and while one session of the legislature might approve the embargo, its successor would vote to organize the State into legal resistance to the Jeffersonian plans for coercing New England. Against the protest of one hundred and sixty-eight Republicans the Federalist legislature of Massachusetts, in 1808, had passed an act which upheld the navy, denounced the embargo, and impugned the motives of its authors. What, then, could be expected from a like body of men when the latest embargo was ordered? It was remembered that the men from the Eastern States had won the nation over from its folly in the case of the first embargo and had secured its repeal at the end of Jefferson's second administration, and, it was asked, why should they now, in 1812, heed either the call of the government to endure, for even a brief term, another foolish and afflictive commercial regulation, or to join the rest of the country in waging a needless war with the mother country?

When we consider the character and the effects of the embargo, whether of 1807 or of 1812, we are forced to the conclusion that as a temporary expedient for gaining time to think out wise and effective plans for extricating the land from difficulty or to discover the temper of the enemy or to secure our shipping from spoliation, the short embargo was not without reason; but as a means of peaceful coercion both embargoes were failures. Of the three nations most affected by the restrictive measures of Congress, America was the main sufferer. Lambert, writing of the United States in 1807, says: "Her commerce is already annihilated by the embargo, from which she suffers more than either of the belligerents." Nor had it been a success in the direction hoped for, according to Armstrong, who, writing from Paris, said: "We have somewhat over-rated our means of coercion. Here it is not felt; and in England, amid the more recent and interesting events of the day it is forgotten."

It was, indeed, a costly method of retaliating upon a foreign foe. The balance of benefit between war and estoppage of trade with foreign countries was in almost every way on the side of war. Each measure would act as a stimulus to home industries; war, perhaps, would be the greater. As between the two on the score of moral injury, embargo did not lag behind war. Embargo was pacific, as suits a democracy, but it was disintegrating. War had its fierceness, but it was destined to unite a distracted country. The embargo put a premium upon tricky evasions of the law, and made perjury the commonest sin of a money-making people. The war was destined to swing the pendulum of popular feeling from a needless humiliation to a sense of honorable elevation. Out of defeat the nation was to arise to find its shame the precursor of a valiant patriotism. Nor were these elements of a great people so plentiful in these times that our forefathers could afford to neglect them. Embargo made Americans enemies of their own government; whilst war was to turn their animosities against a common foe, despite the fact that the continuance of the struggle brought to the surface much local insubordination.

Each side, North and South, protested that it was the chief martyr under the commercial restrictions. The tobacco farmer and the cotton planter of the South were seriously injured, the more so the longer the prohibitive edicts lasted. There is no doubt that certain interests of New England suffered, but the domestic business of the same section grew, and the coastwise trade, which was unaffected by the embargo, was blessed with prosperity. The New Englander was saving and energetic, his timber and his fish were resources unaffected by war, he had a monopoly of the products of his factory in domestic trade, and he was a born smuggler. The growers of wheat and stock in the Middle States were hard pressed, for wheat fell from two dollars to seventy-five cents a bushel. Yet the plodding Pennsylvanian supported Jefferson in his last year with little complaint, while the factories of the State profited by the domestic

trade which sprang to fair proportions when the foreign goods were shut out. The South was in a sorry plight.

"The true burden of the embargo fell upon the Southern States, but most severely upon the great State of Virginia." Less heavily was the pressure felt in the rice and cotton States. But Virginia staggered under the blow which her own men gave her. To ensure political supremacy, Virginia forced a monopoly upon Massachusetts by the very embargo which the people who owned one-third of the United States were violently opposed to. So it came to pass that "American manufactures owed more to Jefferson and Virginians who disliked them than to northern statesmen who merely encouraged them after they were once established."

But having lost supremacy in political matters, New England could not be expected to weigh evenly the economic losses of the different sections, and having maintained its leadership of the nation, the South could well afford to restrain its disposition to complain over its own great losses. Naturally the former gave largest vent to its disaffection. May 1, 1812, the *Boston Repertory* called attention to the "madness" of "Mr. Madison and his cabal," and declared that the purpose of the administration was to force the United States to use arms "for the Emperor of France." The *New York Commercial Advertiser* spoke of "old Massachusetts as terrible to the Americans now as she was to the British Cabinet in 1775," and adverted to the fact of "the insolence of those madmen from Kentucky and Tennessee." The *Boston Gazette* said of the loan urged by Gallatin: "We will lend them money to retrace their steps, but none to persevere in their present course. Let every highwayman find his own pistols." The East had many grievances. It had suffered as much as any other part of the country; it had a deep distrust of the liberal tendencies of the party in power; it had been smothered to silence in the Twelfth Congress; it regretted the loss of its prestige, the inheritance of the days of 1776; it was far more friendly to Great

Britain than any other section of the nation; it could say that the party for war was not unanimous, and could recite the anti-war feelings in other parts of the country.

In this state of mind the country faced the summer of 1812. Before adjourning on the 6th of July, the president asked Congress to appoint a day of humiliation and prayer. The 3d of August was set. It was variously used. In the main, it was observed as was intended, but in a number of New England pulpits occasion was taken to denounce the coming strife, its authors and abettors. By proclamation of the governor, Massachusetts had a separate day, the 23d of July. There was much plain talk, much bitterness, much sorrow. William Ellery Channing spoke on both days. His words were characteristic of his gentle but valorous soul. He deplored war as "leading down to poverty, vice, and slavery," yet he did not encourage opposition to the laws of the land. Another great name comes to the front at this time. Daniel Webster in a Fourth of July oration, delivered at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, advocated a heartier support of the administration than did the average pulpit, when he said: "With respect to the war in which we are involved, the course which our principles require us to pursue cannot be doubtful. It is the law of the land, and as such we are bound to regard it. Resistance and insurrection form no part of our creed." On the same Fourth of July, when the oration was delivered, there appeared in the *New York Evening Post* a poem from a youth of seventeen, afterward the Nestor of American letters, William Cullen Bryant. His reference to the influence of France is suggestive.

"In vain against the dire design
Exclaims the indignant land. . . .

"Nor shall the Patriot draw his sword
At Gallia's proud command."

The declaration of the 19th of June found the tiny navy of the nation ill prepared for facing the squadrons of the

British. For a decade not one frigate had been added to the line. A few small schooners had been purchased, and one hundred and seventeen gunboats built for harbor defence. They stood about two feet above the water and were the laughing stock of the navy. A little had been done for the navy yards, for small docks had been established at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Washington, Gosport, and Portsmouth. At the beginning of the War of 1812, the list of war vessels included the following: *United States*, forty-four guns; *Constitution*, forty-four; *President*, forty-four; *Constellation*, thirty-eight; *Congress*, thirty-eight; *Chesapeake*, thirty-eight; *Essex*, thirty-two; *Adams*, twenty-eight; *Hornet*, eighteen; *Wasp*, eighteen; *Argus*, sixteen; *Syren*, sixteen; *Nautilus*, fourteen; *Vixen*, fourteen; *Enterprise*, twelve; *Viper*, twelve. The three forty-four-gun ships were not surpassed in the world for beauty of modeling, stout masts, and heavy guns. Each was manned by a crew of about four hundred and fifty men. Of the larger ships the *Constitution* was soon to become the most famous. She was built at Boston in 1797 at a cost of three hundred and two thousand dollars, and now, after more than a hundred years of service, still survives the years, docked where she was first launched.

In 1812, the navy held upon its list five hundred officers, five thousand two hundred and thirty seamen and boys, and one thousand five hundred and twenty-three marines. The men and their officers were equal to any on the globe. The little navy was not lacking in prestige. The war with Tripoli had had a most healthy effect upon the American naval force. Popular sympathy was expended without apology upon ships and heroes in the Mediterranean. "Preble and Rodgers, Decatur and Hull became brilliant names; the midnight death of Somers was told in every farmhouse; the hand-to-hand struggles of Decatur against thrice his numbers inflamed the imagination of schoolboys who had never heard that Jefferson and his party once declaimed against a navy."

In illustration of the folly which planned land campaigns alone and relegated to safe harbors the little fleet for fear that it might be captured by the foe and be made to swell the British navy, one has but to read the debates of the day, which will, too, furnish proof that if the majority of Congressmen were not cowards they were strangely blind to the opportunity of the war. And yet, it did seem hopeless for a dozen ships to go forth to face a thousand. In 1812, the British ships numbered nine hundred and ninety-four, of which one hundred and fifteen were ships of the line. There were eight frigates carrying from forty-four to fifty guns, and thirty-one more were being built. That Great Britain should have had a contempt for the poor little navy across the sea is not to be wondered at. Canning called the *Constitution* a "bunch of pine boards under a bit of striped bunting."

The Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Georgia stretched through fourteen degrees of latitude, and was to be defended by a navy that could hardly keep off a squadron of the enemy from the port of New York. The South was exposed to whatever insult might fall upon it from Spain, at this time in close touch with Great Britain, the latter fighting her battles in the Peninsula. Spain held St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Mobile. The United States had a few troops at Amelia Island, New Orleans, and on Red River. On the lakes there were no ships of war, and the forts were of little strength.

Great Britain had five ships of the line and seventy-six other vessels on the American station between Halifax and Jamaica, and in addition four armed vessels on Lake Ontario, besides others building. At the head of Lake Huron she had a small fort over three hundred miles north of Detroit. At Amherstburg, the British had fortified a station on the Detroit River, where ships were built for Lake Erie, but on the lake itself they had no garrison. At the head of Niagara River was Fort Erie, five hundred and sixty-five miles from Quebec. Fort Chippewa was a weak stockade

just above Niagara Falls. Seven miles above Queenston was Fort George. At York, now Toronto, the British had an old blockhouse. Their principal depot was at Kingston, whose fine harbor was defended by a battery of nine-pounders. Montreal and Quebec were strongly fortified.

In the American army there were ten regiments in the field with depleted ranks and a small number of troops in garrison. There was, however, a paper army of thirteen regiments of regulars, fifty thousand volunteers, and one hundred thousand militia. War drew on, but sluggish drums beat up a dilatory host. The number of regulars and the volunteers increased more slowly than that of the militia in States where popular temper and fear of Indian raids inspired enlistment. In New England, scruples prevailed against allowing a militiaman to put foot across the boundary line of his own State, or to chase a routed foe into his own territory. A thousand miles of frontage in the Northwest and North demanded protection. The former was a wilderness. The flag floated over Fort Mackinac, Fort Dearborn,—now Chicago,—Fort Wayne on the Maumee, and Fort Harrison on the Wabash, all weaker than Detroit. To the east lay Lake Champlain. Between this and Detroit there were exposed places on lake shores and river banks, and only a sparsely populated region unprepared for self-defence. West of the Mississippi was an open door with a perilous outlook whenever the braves of Tecumseh grew restless under inaction or were stirred to fury.

A glance at the men selected to lead the land forces of the Americans tells the tale of senility and immaturity. As a class, the officers were unfit for authority by reason of age and vanity. The senior major-general was Henry Dearborn, collector of the port of Boston. The junior major-general was Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, a politician since Revolutionary times, when he served under Marion, and after that as envoy to foreign courts. The list of brigadier generals was headed by a name hard to conjure

by unless infamy is to be relied upon to beget confidence: James Wilkinson had been acquitted of charges enough to have convicted a whole staff, but had been retained in service. The list ended with Governor William Hull of the Territory of Michigan, whom the impartial judgment of history has loaded with deserved ignominy. The testimony of General Winfield Scott has put in wretched plight the memory of this body of timid, boastful, and incompetent leaders. In his later life Scott described the army as it was in 1808, in the following terms: "The old officers had very generally sunk into either sloth, ignorance, or habits of intemperate drinking. . . . Many of the appointments were positively bad. . . . Party spirit of that day knew no bounds, and of course was blind to policy. Federalists were almost entirely excluded from selection, though great numbers were eager for the field, and in New England and some other States there were but very few educated Republicans; hence the selections from those communities consisted mostly of coarse and ignorant men. In the other States where there was no lack of educated men in the dominant party, the appointments consisted generally of swaggerers, dependants, decayed gentlemen, and others, 'fit for nothing else,' which always turned out utterly unfit for any military purpose whatever."

Whether war should be waged on the sea or on the land, and whether it should include the attempt to conquer Canada were points of division between the South, the West and the East. The South, like the West, was opposed to war on the ocean; the East was opposed to the conquest of Canada. Some of the leaders, Clay for example, were in favor both of war on the sea and against Canada, but the South and West, fearing the imposition of heavy taxes for the support of a navy, favored an attack on Canada, and no opposition to the British on the east coast. A huge navy they could not get, a small one would do no good. The semi-stultification of Clay's motto—"Sailors' Rights"—is evident in the course which the war party

followed. They disclaimed fighting for Canada, but they would not venture on the sea. Congress adjourned on July 6, 1812, after a most exhausting session in which acts were passed that revealed much of rashness and inefficient organization. Yet these same acts have left the deepest impression upon American history. The provisions for maintaining the struggle appear in the report of the Committee on Ways and Means. The leading features of the system of finance were adapted to a three years' war. It was to be supported wholly by loans. It was thought that eleven million dollars would cover the first year's expenses. Subscriptions to the loan were to be made at designated banks, and were to count as deposits until the needs of the treasury should call for them. But the shortage of subscriptions amounted to over four million dollars and the president was authorized to issue five millions of treasury notes payable in one year, bearing interest. Import duties were doubled, but the party in power did not yet dare to test the popular temper by the imposition of direct and internal taxes.

The Act approved April 8, 1812, declaring Louisiana to be a State of the Union, was passed over the protest of the Eastern States that no new territory should be admitted without consulting the States themselves. West Florida was incorporated into Louisiana by Act of Congress approved April 14th, and the eastern portion was incorporated into the Mississippi Territory by Act approved May 14, 1812. The title of the United States to West Florida was in grave question. In later years, it was confirmed by a grant from the King of Spain in a paper which was meant by him to ignore the usurpations of the American government. His cession in 1819 discredited the claim of Congress, and left the nation with a confused title. The difficulties in the acquisition of East Florida were many. Madison in January, 1811, had sent George Matthews and John McKee to take possession of Mobile and Fernandina under certain circumstances. Matthews went to St. Mary's

to take possession of East Florida. When he and his fellow commissioner reached the boundary line between the United States and Spanish territory, they discovered British vessels smuggling goods across the American boundary contrary to the non-importation laws, and they also found that the authority of Spain, weak at the best, was exercised in behalf of illicit trade. The smugglers made Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, their rendezvous. Every provocative of lawlessness existed. Six months passed by as witness of negotiations that failed. Matthews remembered Baton Rouge, and brought force to settle what pacific methods could not achieve. In March, 1812, two hundred well-armed adventurers were thrown across the river, to hold the shore just above the island. Awed by the presence of the "patriots," as they called themselves, backed as they were by the gunboats in the harbor of Fernandina, the Spanish commander with his ten men surrendered the fort, and the flag of the United States was raised above it. Resistance at St. Augustine on the part of the Spaniards called for aid from Savannah, and two companies reached Governor Mitchell, of Georgia, who had been sent to take the place of Matthews. They had hardly reached St. Mary's when intelligence of war followed. They promptly seized seventeen British vessels and confiscated timber cut for the British navy. The day after the declaration of war, the House took up the question of sustaining the president, and of confirming the establishment of the government over the whole of the two Floridas. It passed in the House by a vote of seventy to forty-eight, but the bill was lost in the Senate. Yet the president declined to withdraw from the territory.

The contrast between the willingness to buy from France ten years earlier and the determination to take from Spain now marks the new spirit of the day. It was not difficult to extend the United States territory southward. The progress of the war at hand proved it impossible to stretch the boundary to the north. Canada was a source of irritation

to the Federalists. They declared that the Republican leaders were bent upon a war of aggression having for its chief object the subjugation of Canada. They did not consider that when war is in progress any affliction of the foe is warranted by the situation. Nor were they quite fair in their accusations. The Louisiana Purchase had been a hateful thing to the old-line Federalists, and not even the chance of enlarging their own section of the Union under the opportunities of a just war could budge them from their narrow position.

The chief obstacle to a swift and successful advance over the border into Canada was the unwillingness of at least three of the New England States to place their militia under the orders of the national commanders. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island refused to obey the call for troops. Griswold, Governor of Connecticut, declared the call unconstitutional. He alleged that the three reasons for calling out State militia did not exist: there was no invasion, there was no insurrection, there was no failure to execute the laws of the United States. He was upheld in this position by his Council of State. The report of the Connecticut legislature advanced a doctrine of State sovereignty which would have been summarily denounced a few years earlier. In Massachusetts, eminent judges like Theophilus Parsons and Samuel Sewall gave an affirmative answer to the question the governor asked the Supreme Court as to his right to decide upon the constitutionality of the president's call for troops, and as to his refusal to have them commanded by officers in the regular army. The position of Rhode Island was analogous.

Though the Senate of the Massachusetts legislature tried to arouse the people to warlike measures, town meetings by scores denounced the war. The tolling of church bells, the closing of shops, flags at halfmast on idle ships under embargo, were no insignificant reminder of the sullen dislike of the declaration of war. The press teemed with sermons, which, having done duty on the Sabbath, flew over the land

as tracts for peace. The rector of Trinity Church, Boston, gave utterance to the following on the 23d of July: "The alternative then is, that if you do not wish to become slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, 'cut the connection,' or so far alter the national compact as to ensure yourselves a due share in the government."

This was in Boston. In Baltimore, the press which echoed like sentiments was rudely treated. The Federalist editor was barely tolerated, and only on condition of keeping closed lips or quiet types. Alexander Hanson had for a long while denounced the advocates of war, and, when it was proclaimed, he continued his denunciations. A mob destroyed his press, types, and bindery. Under the urging of Howard Payne, the author of *Home, Sweet Home*, the publisher issued his paper, *The Federal Republican*, at Georgetown, and planned to distribute the issue from his house in Baltimore. The building had been fortified in anticipation of mob attack. On July 26th, copies of the publication arrived. A score of friends, led by "Light Horse Harry" Lee and General Lingan,—another Revolutionary hero,—formed a small garrison to resist attack. The determined effort of the mob prompted the mayor to strive to effect a compromise. The defenders were taken, under pledge of safety, as prisoners to the jail. The night following witnessed a pitiful end of heroic defence of the right of free speech. An attack was made on the jail, and in the darkness and the confusion of the attack eight of the prisoners escaped. The rest were hideously mishandled. Nearly all of them died, among them Lingan, while Lee became a cripple for life. The excitement over the country was tremendous. New England charged the Republicans of Baltimore with the same spirit that shed the blood of thousands in Paris in 1793.

The very week in which the rector of Trinity Church uttered his sermon of resistance and in which the friends

of free speech died for its honor, General Hull had been a fortnight on British soil, and he wrote on July 26th that he could not succeed without coöperation from Niagara. The only force there consisted of a few New York militia, not in touch with Hull and not under the control of a national officer. Dearborn, senior major-general in command of the army, had a plan which included the movement of an army on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, and the speedy march of three corps of militia converging from Sackett's Harbor, Niagara, and Detroit. Commander Thomas Macdonough was in charge on Lake Champlain, Captain Isaac Chauncey, on Lake Ontario, Dearborn was at Albany to lead the expedition against Montreal, and Hull was already chosen to direct the operations of war, offensive and defensive, at Detroit. He went to his post, the unwilling recipient of the honor.

A proposition to hold an armistice came near to putting an end to the war in its first stage. On the 23d of June, the prince regent in Council had published an absolute revocation of the Orders, so far as they had to do with America. A proviso accompanied this to the effect that unless America should revoke its Non-Intercourse Act and put Great Britain upon the same footing with France, the order should have no force. The regent might restore the Orders, if necessary. On June 26th, Madison sent a despatch to Jonathan Russell who had been transferred from the legation at Paris and sent as chargé to the court of St. James, offering an armistice preliminary to a definite settlement of all difficulties on condition of the repeal of the Orders, the discontinuance of impressment, and the return of impressed seamen. Thus, without knowing the other's action, each nation desired peace if it could be obtained with honor. Foster heard of the act of the regent just as he was leaving Halifax, and he secured consent to a mutual suspension of warlike measures from the naval authorities at that station and on land from the governor-general of Canada, Sir George Prevost. To that General Dearborn agreed, but the government

at Washington declined to accept this proposition, as it was without the assurance of securities against inequalities in the terms of the armistice. So long as Great Britain refused to declare herself upon the question of impressment, hostilities might not be suspended. When Castlereagh informed Russell that the question of impressed seamen was out of the limits of discussion, and expressed surprise that the United States should have "thought fit to demand that the British government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign State," and that "they could not consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire depends," it was evident that the concession of Great Britain was less real than apparent.

What Jefferson had called in 1792 "the peculiar custom in Great Britain of impressing seamen on every appearance of war" was to be tested after twenty years by the young Republicans, for Clay, in reply to the able but bitter and at times coarse speech of Quincy, declared that impressment was just cause for war, and the common heart echoed long the Kentuckian's closing words: "Seamen's rights and free trade." In this speech Clay made it plain that though the Orders in Council had been the first cause of war, their withdrawal did not remove other just causes. For himself, he had always deemed the impressment of American seamen the most serious aggression upon the rights of Americans.

The purpose to move upon Canada was fated to meet difficulties for which the American army was unprepared. Canada consisted of Lower Canada, including the old French settlements on the St. Lawrence, numbering about three hundred thousand, and Upper Canada, including the settlements above Montreal, mainly on the north shore of Lake Ontario and some scattered hamlets north of Lake Erie, numbering about one hundred thousand descendants of American loyalists. Both were under the control of the

governor of Lower Canada, though each province had its governor and legislature. For the defence of Upper Canada there were fifteen hundred British regulars; but in Lower Canada there were about six thousand regulars, all too small to defend such a stretch of assailable frontier had they been led by generals without ability. The militia numbered forty thousand. There were some hopes of detaching a part of Canada owing to the political discontent in the legislature of Lower Canada during the administration of Sir James Craig. But the vigorous measures of Sir George Prevost had checked this in the bud, and now, save in the extreme west of the province, the advantage was on the side of the British, for the southern border was difficult of approach, guarded by a water front, upon which its population lived more densely than was the case with the Americans; the only easy place of crossing was at the extreme end of Lake Erie, and in case of a victory by the Americans the problem of following it up would still face them.

Even before the declaration of war the attention of the Cabinet was turned to the strategic value of St. Clair River through which Lake Huron pours into Lake Erie. The importance of holding Detroit was clearly reasoned by Governor Hull himself in a letter of March 6th to Secretary Eustis, for it would furnish a base for operations in the far west, opening the way into Upper Canada: "A part of your army now recruiting may be as well supported and disciplined at Detroit as at any other place. A force adequate to the defence of that vulnerable point would prevent a war with the savages and probably induce the enemy to abandon the province of Upper Canada without opposition. The naval force on the Lakes would, in that event, fall into our possession, and we should obtain the command of the waters without the expense of building such a force." But to get what Hull sought demanded far more ability on the part of the Americans than they possessed and assumed much less skill and energy on the part of the British in Canada than they soon exhibited.

Meanwhile, General Dearborn was summoned to Washington to confer with the president and the secretary of war. From February to April the consultation went on. Dearborn's plan was that a main army should strike for Montreal, going by way of Lake Champlain, and at the same time that three corps, mostly of militia, should advance into Canada from three bases, Detroit, Niagara, and Sackett's Harbor. But it was only a campaign on paper. Congress had not met. The army was not in array. On April 8th, Governor Hull was appointed brigadier-general of the United States army, though much against his will. He started for Ohio without any but a vague understanding between himself and the secretary of war.

Less than five thousand whites inhabited Michigan when Hull went to the relief of the territory and the town. Detroit stood at the extremity of a lake shore almost entirely unguarded, and the Indians of the section were in arms under probably the ablest of all the native warriors who for two centuries had vainly tried to beat back the white invasion. Nothing beyond the Wabash and the Maumee was adequately defended. There were in the fort at Detroit one hundred and twenty soldiers, eighty-five at Fort Wayne, fifty at the new Fort Harrison on the Wabash, and fifty-three at the utterly helpless Fort Dearborn, with only eighty-eight stationed far up at Mackinac to guard the straits between Huron and Michigan. Immediate and urgent preparations were under way for the relief of Detroit. By April there was a rendezvous of militia at Dayton, Ohio, and there, on May 25th, Hull took command of three Ohio regiments of militia under Colonels McArthur, Findlay, and Cass, a troop of Ohio dragoons, and the Fourth Regiment of United States regulars who had fought at Tippecanoe, in all not over seventeen hundred men.

Two hundred miles of wilderness lay between the little army and their destination. They made their road, built their bridges, and erected their blockhouses with all the ready skill of pioneers, to the amazement of British spies, and

flanked by the watchful and martial Wyandots who warily eyed the oncoming of their foes. At Fort Findlay, Hull received word, dated the day of the declaration of war, urging him to hasten to Detroit, but not a syllable about the war. He was still seventy-five miles from Detroit. On reaching the present site of Toledo he transferred to a schooner bound for Detroit his hospital stores, tools, personal baggage, and a chest containing the muster rolls of the army and instructions from the war department. Fate was treading hard upon him. The Canadians knew of the declaration of war on the 30th of June. Hull was still ignorant of it until the 2d of July. The schooner was captured by the enemy on the same day that word reached Hull from Secretary Eustis that war was declared. The war department was less effective than the treasury department. It encouraged John Jacob Astor, who traded largely with the Indians of the Northwest. He obtained early news of the war and sped swift warning to his agents. In this he was aided by Gallatin whose letters reached their destination in advance of the despatch of Eustis. On the 5th of July Hull arrived at the fort. It consisted of two acres, enclosed by an embankment, a ditch, and a double row of pickets. It failed to command the river, and Hull saw that he was in a trap. On the 9th he received orders from the war department to assume the offensive, and in accordance therewith he crossed the river just above the town of Windsor, where he found no little sympathy with the Americans. Had he then pushed on to Malden, history might have had to tell a different tale. He satisfied himself with issuing a bombastic proclamation in which he tendered the inhabitants the "invaluable blessing of civil, political, and religious liberty," not asking them to join his army, yet threatening them with dire vengeance if they were found fighting by the side of their Indian allies.

General Dearborn was leisurely proceeding from Boston and Albany, dallying to watch the conduct of the State government at Boston, unable to generate enthusiasm anywhere,

and uncertain what was the best course to pursue. He even asked Eustis the extraordinary question: "Who is to have command of the operations in Upper Canada?" Hull's earnest desire to have Niagara speedily invested went for naught, and he was left by the war department to face active troops to his front and unknown savages in the rear, to capture fortresses and clear the lake without aid from the East. His papers were seized, his officers were suspicious of his courage, his sick list increased, and discontent arose daily over his delays.

Hull was opposed by a man of the first rank as a commander. Brigadier-general Isaac Brock was the ablest leader on the border in either army. He knew the value of time, he was cautious, he was energetic and whole hearted. While Hull sat still, Brock was diligently focusing his contingents, and while the deserters increased in the camp of the Americans, the Wyandots dug up the hatchet and joined the British. Mackinac had surrendered to the British on the 17th of July. Hull had thought his proclamation sufficient to hold the Canadians quiet, but now he showed alarm. Each day closed in on him with fatal news. Hull decided to recross the river, and effected his purpose on the night of August 8th, untroubled by the enemy. Brock came on after him. The diversion at Niagara which, had it been made sooner, might have had some happier result for the timid commander at Detroit was undertaken too late. In the meantime the moody and wavering Hull was in a desperate condition. A "round robin" sent around among the officers suggested the displacement of their chief. The Indians, whose ferocity terrorized the American general, were a prime aid to the British. On the morning of the 14th of August, Brock held a council with Tecumseh, and wrote of him: "A more sagacious or a more gallant warrior does not, I believe, exist." He threatened to let loose the Indians if Hull persisted in stubborn resistance. Hull was in a mood to surrender. His mail had been captured, and his communications had been cut off from Ohio. True, he had

twenty-eight cannon and a thousand men in good condition. He gave up his fort while his men shed tears of mortification. On the morning of the 16th of August, Brock received the surrender of the fort, soldiers, inhabitants, and all stores. About two thousand soldiers fell into the hands of the British. Hull was tried by courtmartial held at Albany in 1814, and convicted of cowardice, neglect of duty, and unofficerlike conduct, and sentenced to be shot, and his name was ordered to be stricken from the rolls. He was pardoned by the president, and lived for twelve years in quiet on his farm in Massachusetts, bearing, it must be said, his load of obloquy with something like resignation, and a belief that he had done the best to save the lives of many innocent people at Detroit. Brock was knighted, but he lived only a short time, for a soldier's death was his portion.

Fort Dearborn fell into the hands of the Indians on the 15th of August, the defenders being massacred after they had accepted terms of surrender from their savage captors, who butchered the Americans with the expectation of prize money offered by the British for American scalps. Attacks upon Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison were repulsed. The latter place was saved by a young officer who afterward won fame as General Zachary Taylor. Thus, aside from the two small forts named, the whole land west of the Wabash, and all the land north of the Maumee was in the hands of the British.

CHAPTER V

MIDDLE PERIOD OF THE WAR

THE fall of Detroit and the operations upon the Canadian border served to heighten the enthusiasm of the war party and to diminish the opposition of the peace men. As the accounts of the fighting in the north sifted through the States, the martial ardor of the people awoke. Mortified pride, disappointment, and indignation were widespread throughout the nation. The West was particularly wrathful. Kentucky was free from fear of the Indians, but Ohio was within their reach, and all the territory south of Lake Michigan lay open to the incursions of the British and their allies. Governors and people began to rally to the support of the government. While there was now little hope of marching to the immediate conquest of Canada, none the less there was a set purpose to retrieve the disaster and the disgrace of Hull's surrender. Governor D. D. Tompkins, of New York, exerted himself to the utmost to fill up the ranks of the State soldiery. The Democratic legislature of Vermont passed a stringent drafting law, offered a bounty of thirty dollars to volunteers and agreed to duplicate to the militia their pay from the United States government. In Massachusetts and Connecticut there was no prohibition of the enlistment of volunteers for the regular army, but absolute refusal to submit the militia to the command of the officers of the regular army. The District of Maine put three thousand volunteers in readiness for active service.

General Wilkinson was in command at New Orleans and while waiting for the coming of the Seventh regiment called upon the governor to furnish two thousand soldiers for the defence of the adjacent Gulf territory. This was the more imperative as the British were assisting the Spaniards in fortifying Pensacola and zealous in forming a "holy alliance" with the Creek Indians.

Naturally, the disasters on the northwestern frontier aroused the population most immediately concerned to unwonted exertions. The war fever in Kentucky and Ohio burned to such an extent that the call for troops found ten men for every gun that could be furnished. Even prior to the declaration of war the quota from Kentucky of the one hundred thousand detached militia which the president was authorized to summon to the front was almost ready for service. As early as May, 1812, Governor Charles Scott, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, had organized ten regiments, the quota of his State, and filled them with a volunteer force of five thousand five hundred men. Governor Meigs, of Ohio, who had been prompt to respond to the call for troops to march with Hull to Detroit, upon hearing of the fall of the fort, used every energy to supply all frontier blockhouses with means for defence; he began to rendezvous at Urbana, Ohio, the remaining portion of the Ohio militia, twelve hundred in number.

Governor Harrison, of Indiana, had repaired to Frankfort, Kentucky, in the summer, to confer with leading soldiers and civilians. As early as the 10th of August he expressed fears of the result of the fall of Mackinac, and said that if Detroit should fall "every hope of establishing our affairs in that quarter until the next year" would go. But the surrender of Detroit only inflamed the people the more for its speedy recovery. Harrison was popular. Governor Scott invested him with the title of "Major-general of the Militia of Kentucky," by brevet, thus overriding technicalities, for Harrison was not a citizen of the State. Three days earlier he had been appointed by the president

a brigadier-general in the regular army. General Winchester, of the regular army, had been placed in command of the Army of the Northwest. This embarrassed Harrison, who, conscious of his hold upon the confidence of the borderers, wrote to the government at Washington that a divided command was to be deprecated, and that the universally expressed desire of the soldiers that he should be the chief ought to be respected. However, with two thousand troops under his eye, and two thousand more following him, he pressed forward to Piquá, on the Great Miami, intending there to resign his command into the hands of Winchester. But the latter was late in arriving. Harrison, hearing that a large force of British and Indians was setting out from Malden, in Canada, pushed forward to the relief of Fort Wayne. This he accomplished September 12th; then he began to spread terror among the neighboring Indians. One detachment of his army destroyed the Little Turtle's town, another the town of the Pottawatomies on Elk Hart River in Michigan, and another a Miami village at the forks of the Wabash. The work was thoroughly done, the knife destroying the corn and the torch the cabins of the savages, thus depriving them of food and shelter at an inclement season of the year.

On the arrival of Winchester at Fort Wayne, the 18th of September, Harrison formally resigned his command. But the change came near producing a mutiny. September 24th Harrison received from the secretary of war his appointment as commander-in-chief of the northwestern army. This gave him a force of ten thousand men. Winchester was sent forward to Fort Defiance, and Harrison proceeded to lay plans for an autumn campaign looking to the seizure of the position at Maumee Rapids, and possibly the recovery of Detroit and the capture of Malden. Thus October, November, and December passed by. The nation was growing impatient. Harrison's soldiers were ill fed and given to insubordination. As winter drew on, their sufferings were bitter. The necessity of a modification of his

original plans led Harrison to suggest to the government the building of a small fleet for the control of Lake Erie,—Hull's proposition before he went to Detroit, but then unheeded by Eustis,—and Monroe, the new head of the department of war, promised appropriate measures for securing the lake.

Before taking up the story of the war on the eastern border it will be well to bring to an end the account of the disastrous conduct of the expedition under Winchester at the river Raisin. Toward the close of December, 1812, directions were sent to Winchester to push forward beyond the Maumee Rapids as far as he could with safety. On receiving word that Tecumseh was on the Wabash with over five hundred warriors, Harrison sent a despatch to Winchester to consider carefully the question of further advance. Without heeding the caution of his superior, Winchester went on to Frenchtown, forty miles distant on the Raisin, a settlement in grave danger of attack. The weather, it was the middle of January, 1813, was extremely cold. The advance guard of the Americans crossed Maumee Bay on the ice, led by Colonel Lewis. His force numbered less than seven hundred men, having only light weapons. When Lewis arrived within three miles of the settlement the British opened fire with a howitzer. Lewis ordered the long roll, and under its inspiration his men charged across the frozen stream, leaped the garden pickets, and drove back the enemy. On the 20th, Winchester arrived with reinforcements, and held what seemed to be a secure position. But he lacked vigilance and gave little heed to rumors of the approach of a large force of the enemy. He paid a heavy price for his failure to guard against surprise. The details of the struggle, of the subsequent panic, and of the awful massacre of American prisoners are harrowing. The British were led by Colonel Henry Proctor, who left his Indian allies to wreak a fearful wrath upon their disarmed captives. Winchester himself was made a prisoner and taken to Canada. Captain Nathaniel Hart, whose sister

was the wife of Henry Clay, was shot and scalped by a Wyandot. Nine hundred and thirty-four Americans went into the fight and one hundred and ninety-seven were killed and missing, only thirty-three of the whole number escaping. Kentucky first went into mourning, then passionately raised the war cry: "Remember the River Raisin!" Harrison moved forward to the Rapids with seventeen hundred men and established a post which he named Fort Meigs.

The original plan for the invasion of Canada, opposed by New England, was barely looked at by the administration. George Eustis, secretary of war, said of it that "it was a very pretty plan." It was, in substance, to strike a fatal blow at Halifax, thus securing the great naval base of Great Britain and paralyzing the transatlantic facilities of the foe, and by flanking Canada enable the American army on the border to gain the weaker Western forts. Instead, the war began at the extremities, and as Armstrong said: "We tried to hurt the lion in the tail," and only aroused him to more dangerous wrath. General Brock, encouraged by his recent victory, was moving to the east to strengthen his lines from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. The movements about Niagara Falls were entirely independent of the invasion of Canada by General Hull. Seven days after Hull had crossed St. Clair River into the territory of the British, a squadron of British vessels attacked Sackett's Harbor, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The United States had little means for warding off the blow. The *Oneida* had been launched in 1809, having been built under the direction of Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey of the United States navy. The same year an arsenal was erected at Watertown, twelve miles east of the Harbor. The only guard of two hundred miles of lake shore was a small force of militia under the command of a Quaker farmer living in the neighborhood, named Jacob Brown, who was to attain the highest position in the command of the army before the close of the war.

It was all important that the government should control the two lakes connected by Niagara River. This duty was

committed to Captain Isaac Chauncey, head of the navy yard at Brooklyn, a most fortunate selection. On August 31, 1812, he was commissioned commander-in-chief of a navy to be created on the lakes. He soon had a flotilla of sixteen vessels, carrying, however, only forty guns. The British had on Lake Ontario six vessels, but carrying twice the number of guns in use by Chauncey. In a short cruise he captured several prizes, but was soon compelled, on account of the frost, to retreat to Sackett's Harbor. Meanwhile, late in September, Captain Benjamin Forsyth had made a bold incursion into Canada, capturing military spoils at Gananoqui, on the shores of the lake of the Thousand Islands. General Jacob Brown, who had been a military secretary under Hamilton in the stirring times of 1798, led a force of men, October 4, 1812, to the defence of Ogdensburg, against which the British, under Colonel Lethbridge, made an unsuccessful attack. Eighteen days later, Major Guildford Dudley Young was the leader of a gallant exploit at St. Regis, an Indian village on the border, capturing the first trophy-flag of the war taken on land. A brilliant deed was performed on the water on the 9th of the same month by Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliott, who managed to cut out from under the guns of Fort Erie two British ships, the *Detroit* and the *Caledonia*, the latter of which came to be the nucleus of the American naval force on Lake Erie.

The scenes of the hardest fighting during the war lay about the famous Falls of Niagara. The whole country about was thinly settled. Buffalo, laid out by the Holland Land Company in 1801, was a scattered hamlet of about one hundred houses. A short distance south were villages of the Seneca Indians. Two miles below Buffalo was Black Rock, at the foot of Lake Erie. Just opposite was Fort Erie, well fortified and held by the British. Seven miles below the Falls, on the American side, lay Lewiston, and almost opposite was Queenston. At the mouth of Niagara River, on the American side, was Fort Niagara, and on the other side of the river, Fort George.

By the middle of September, vigorous preparations were made for strengthening the American force which was encamped along Niagara River. The commander-in-chief was Major-general Stephen Van Rensselaer. He was not a soldier, and engaged to take the post if Solomon Van Rensselaer, the adjutant-general of New York, would act as his military adviser. He was a prominent Federalist and his appointment appears in the light of a stroke of political policy rather than of military wisdom. He had under him about six thousand men and was charged to invade Canada with no loss of time, but he moved with needless and blame-worthy deliberation. Operations were begun at Lewiston, in full view of Queenston, the terminus of the portage between Lake Ontario and the Upper Lakes and therefore highly important to both contestants. General Stephen Van Rensselaer determined to attempt its capture. The immediate attack, which took place on October 13th, was under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer. He led six hundred soldiers, of whom three hundred were regulars. They crossed the river in the face of a fierce and persistent fire from the British upon the Heights. Van Rensselaer was so severely wounded that he was forced to leave the field, and the command was assumed by Captain John E. Wool. The Heights were stormed and captured. Wool was badly wounded, but forgot his wounds, scaled the Heights, and drove the enemy from the field. In the engagement, General Brock met his death while gallantly resisting the American advance. The command passed to General Roger H. Sheaffe, who arrived with a British force of eighteen hundred men, of whom about six hundred were Indians. The Americans had not been reinforced as they should have been during the night. Their resistance was brave, and aid was momentarily expected. General Van Rensselaer moved slowly; and when he finally determined to send reinforcements, his militia refused to cross the river and face the British, although the battle could be plainly seen and the plight of their comrades

was evident. Despite the bravery of the Americans and the skilful leadership of Wool, of Lieutenant Winfield Scott, and of General William Wadsworth, in command when the army was surrendered, the British so overwhelmed them that the entire force was compelled to lay down its arms.

The loss of the Americans was heavy in the number of men slain and captured, but not heavier than that of the British; for in the death of General Brock they suffered a loss all but irreparable. His preëminent qualities were generously acknowledged by his opponents, for when he was laid to rest in a soldier's grave the forts on the American side of the river fired minute guns in honor of a valiant foe. His imposing monument now stands on the high bluff overlooking the battlefield where he met his death.

General Van Rensselaer's disgust at the jealousies among the regulars and at the unsoldierly conduct of the militia led him to resign his office on the 24th of October. His successor was General Alexander Smyth, from Virginia. He was of Irish birth, and the combination of Irish temperament and Virginia training promised much for success on the frontier, but no more conspicuous disaster lay between a boastful beginning and a sorry ending than took place while he was in command. In his pompous address to the "men of New York" he criticised his predecessors, said of the soldiers subject to his orders, "they will conquer or they will die," and wound up with "shall I imitate the officers of the British king, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds? Shame, where is thy blush? No!" This sort of eloquence was not uncommon at the time among the men with epaulets. Some curious results followed when war and oratory combined to heat men's blood. In a month after the battle of Queenston, Smyth had gathered five thousand soldiers for another invasion of Canada. His preparations were not concealed from the enemy on the other shore. The British daily expected to be summoned to repel his attack. Just as the American force, impatient over exasperating delays, were about to



Charles Morris. *From the copy after Ary Scheffer in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington.*

cross into Canada, the order came from headquarters "to disembark and dine!" Mutiny trod hard on the heels of disgust, and three months later Smyth was deposed and forced to leave the army. The attacks on Canada had failed and the situation on the Niagara frontier promised little to the Americans. The Canadians outnumbered their opponents on the border at every strategic point, and being within easy reach of supplies and within their own territory, they could the more quickly concentrate their energies for battle. Thus the year closed on the land. Hull had surrendered Detroit. We left Harrison camped at the mouth of the Maumee, doomed to inaction so long as winter lasted. The Niagara campaign, from which so much had been expected, ended in disgrace. The force at Plattsburg under Dearborn on Lake Champlain had neither failure to shame it nor successful action to boast of.

In another field the fame of American fighters reached a most exalted plane. Not often in a crisis has it been granted to one member of a family of warriors to redeem with immediate and overwhelming effect the ill fame of another member of the family by a triumph as glorious as the failure was ignominious. But when Commodore Isaac Hull sent word to Paul Hamilton, secretary of the navy, that he had captured the British frigate *Guerrière*, the American people rose to the very highest ecstasy. Isaac Hull was nephew to William Hull. The surrender of Detroit occurred on the 16th of August, but the capture of the British frigate gave to the same month a less sinister memory. For August 19, 1812, the *Guerrière* surrendered to the *Constitution*. The mingling of the two opposite feelings, chagrin and pride, was accentuated by the fact that both events were announced in the same issue of the press.

So great an event in the history of the despised navy cannot be related in a paragraph. Before the story of the sea fight is told an earlier exploit must be referred to. Hull showed preëminent ability both as a sailor and as a fighter. His officers were men of a high order, numbering

such as Lieutenant Charles Morris, and for sailing master, John C. Alwyn. In the middle of July the *Constitution* started from Annapolis to cruise northward. After getting out to sea she soon sighted five vessels, and a little while after three more. They were a British squadron. A dead calm that settled upon the ocean gave Hull the opportunity to lead the British ships in one of the most remarkable chases known to the nautical world. Hull ordered out his boats fitted with long lines, and under the steady pull of the oarsmen the *Constitution* began to move away from the Britons. The booming of the guns of the ships nearest in pursuit aroused the Americans to desperate exertions. On taking soundings Hull found twenty fathoms of water. A kedge anchor was taken out ahead, dropped, and then the men on board with energy "clapped on and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge as she came up with the end of the line." The action of the *Constitution* was imitated by the enemy as soon as they discovered the novel method. Then the chase settled down into a trial of brawn as well as of skill. All day and all night the chase continued. The dawn of the second day witnessed a smooth sea, a cloudless sky and the breathings of a gentle wind. Every ship in the procession had all sail spread. Better seamanship on board the *Constitution* widened the gap. Nightfall brought a storm, but the race went on. At the dawn of the next morning they were still racing, and only after a chase of sixty-four hours did the British squadron acknowledge the superiority in speed and crew of the *Constitution*, fast vanishing over the horizon.

The war on the ocean opened auspiciously. Within one hour from the time he heard of the declaration of war, Commodore Rodgers put to sea in the *President* and cruised across the Atlantic, making a goodly number of captures of merchantmen. The *Essex*, Captain David Porter, fought the *Alert* on the 13th of August, and compelled her to strike her colors in eight minutes. The *Alert* was greatly inferior to the *Essex*.

On the 2d of August, Captain Hull sailed from Boston to cross the track of English vessels hovering on the coast. On the 19th of the month he descried the *Guerrière*, Captain Richard Dacres. Hull was the more willing to fight Dacres, as he had challenged combat with any American frigate; also his vessel had been one of the squadron from which Hull had escaped; hence he awaited her approach with peculiar interest. It was about five in the afternoon. The Englishman did not conceal his purpose to engage in close conflict. Hull was in for any kind of fighting, but waited till his opponent was a half pistol-shot away, and not till the *Guerrière* had fired more than once did he give the order to his impatient gunners, saying quietly and repeatedly: "Not yet!" but ending with the words: "Now, boys, pour it into them!" The next half hour was one that lived long in the memories of the men who gained glory for the flag which had been called "a bit of striped bunting." Amid the roar of broadsides and the volleys of musketry both parties attempted to board, while the splintered spars and the sea rolling heavily doubled the perils of the conflict. Hull may be allowed to tell the story of the first great naval victory in the war. "As soon as the *Constitution* was ready for action I bore down with an intention to bring him to close action immediately; but on our coming within gunshot, she gave us a broadside and filled away, and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without effect, her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvring for about three-quarters of an hour, to get a raking position—but finding she could not, she bore and ran under her topsails and jib, with the wind on the quarter. I immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and five minutes before 6 P.M., being alongside within half pistol-shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in sixteen minutes his mizzen mast went by the board, and his main-yard in the slings, and the hull, rigging, and sails were very much

torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for fifteen minutes longer, when his mainmast and foremast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit; on seeing this we ceased firing, so that in thirty minutes after we got fairly alongside the enemy, she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above the water so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down." The *Constitution* lost seven men killed and wounded. The *Guerrière* lost fifteen killed and forty-four wounded and twenty-four missing. It is true that the *Constitution* was the heavier vessel in the ratio of one hundred to seventy, carrying forty-four guns, and the *Guerrière* thirty-eight guns, but comparing the losses inflicted, the *Guerrière* did damage to her foe in the proportion of eighteen to that of one hundred in the case of the *Constitution*. The *British Annual Register* (19. 200) noted that "it is pleasing to add that they [the captured British] received the most honorable and humane treatment from the American commander." The victory was not due to fortune, as Captain Dacres said in his testimony before the British courtmartial at Halifax, but the plucky Englishman could not quite understand the secret of Hull's success, and asked nothing better than to fight again under exactly the same conditions.

The whole country was lifted up beyond measure and gave way to the most lively exhibitions of joy. Entertainments were given to Hull and his crew, and he received dinners, freedoms of cities, silver plate, and other tokens of a people's gratitude. They had had little confidence in their navy until now, while the English had bragged of the strength of their "wooden walls." Nor was this the end, for, as if to reassure the young nation, only six days after the rebuff of Van Rensselaer at Queenston, another stinging defeat was inflicted upon the British. The ability of the captains in the American navy and the hopelessness of squadron fighting led the government to offer the naval officers full liberty of action, and they sailed the seas to do

the greatest harm of which they were capable to the most ships. The *Wasp* was a sloop-of-war under command of Captain Jacob Jones. On the 18th of October she fell in with the *Frolic* acting as convey to a fleet of merchantmen. The *Wasp* carried two long twelve-pounders and sixteen thirty-twos, while the *Frolic* mounted eighteen guns. The two vessels were of equal force, for the broadside of the *Frolic* weighed two hundred and seventy-four pounds, while the *Wasp* threw a few pounds less. At half-past eleven in the morning the conflict began in the midst of a dangerously rough sea. Furious broadsides were exchanged, and the *Wasp* lost her maintopmast early in the action. A little later the hull of the *Frolic* was pierced again and again by the surer aim of the *Wasp*. The sea ran high, and the gunners of the *Wasp* used the opportunity to fire into the exposed sides of the *Frolic* as she came up from the trough of the waters. The fight was over in forty-five minutes. As the ships fell foul of each other the crew of the *Wasp* boarded the *Frolic* and found a distressing condition of affairs. Only twenty of the one hundred and ten that formed the crew remained unhurt, while the *Wasp* had only ten killed and wounded. The *Wasp* was superior by only five per cent, yet she inflicted a ninefold greater damage upon her opponent. But Jones was not to enjoy the glory of taking his capture home, for within two hours he was compelled to surrender to the British ship-of-war *Poictiers* of seventy-four guns and was taken to Bermuda.

The next week brought news of another victory. On the 25th of October, the *United States*, commanded by Commodore Stephen Decatur, cruising off the island of Madeira, sighted the *Macedonian*, Captain John S. Carden, slightly inferior to the *United States* in number of men, but about equal in number of guns. The superior fire and the able seamanship of the American ship secured a victory in an hour and a half. Carden suffered at long range and closed in, but to his utter defeat. A comparison of the losses tells the story of the now famous gunnery of the Americans,

for while Decatur lost eleven killed and wounded, Carden lost nine times as many. The *Macedonian* was brought to port, the only captive frigate ever taken to anchorage in an American harbor. Captain Jones, who had been released from Bermuda, was put in command as a recognition of his victory over the *Frolic*. Before the end of the year one more victory had been won by the *Constitution*. Hull had generously retired in favor of a brother officer. Ships were scarcer than captains. On the 29th of December, Captain William Bainbridge, Hull's successor, in command of the frigate, was cruising in southern waters, and ran across the *Java*, almost a sister ship to the *Guerrière*, but throwing a heavier broadside. The action began at two o'clock in the afternoon. To avoid being raked, the *Constitution* closed in with her foe, and the "battle became slaughter." The *Java* ceased firing about four o'clock. Forty-eight of her crew were killed and one hundred and two were wounded. On the *Constitution* there were twelve killed and twenty-two wounded. The year closed with this victory.

Though by the end of the year the American merchant trade was swept from the ocean, so great was the triumph of the American frigates that even the Federalists rejoiced in the naval victories and declared that they would have been even greater if their policy of a larger navy had been adopted at the opening of the war. Now in the amazing exploits of Hull, Decatur, and Bainbridge, the Federalists easily discovered proofs of the wisdom of their position in contrast with the folly of the Republicans in opposition to the increase of the navy, and also with the selfishness of the agricultural as against the commercial interests of the nation.

The effect of the war upon the plans of Napoleon made many foreigners outside of Great Britain suspicious that the United States was in some fashion in collusion with France, for the strife cut off supplies from Spain and Portugal, and more heavily burdened Great Britain. The emperor seemed almost invincible on land. But Great Britain did not prove

to be so on the sea. The feeling of Britons over the defeats may be seen from statements made before and after the surrender of the British frigates. Their arrogance at the beginning of the year gave place to mortification at its close. The London *Times* reflected the mingled chagrin and passion of the hour when it blamed Captain Dacres for not going to the bottom rather than surrendering to Hull, and the words of George Canning in Parliament on the 18th of February, 1813, showed to what depths of hurt pride Great Britain had fallen: "It cannot be too deeply felt that the sacred spell of invincibility of the British navy was broken by these unfortunate captures." The London *Evening Star* still spoke in disdainful wrath of "the piece of striped bunting flying at the mastheads of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws." The suspicion of collusion between America and France and the knowledge of her own superiority on the sea developed in Great Britain a spirit unanimous for war against the United States. Napoleon was in the heart of Russia, and had not yet been forced to retreat. Wellington was calling his men back from the siege of Burgos. The *Macedonian* was lying at anchor in the harbor of the enemy. Great Britain felt now no call for forbearance. She determined to "smother" the American navy. Everyone cried out for its destruction. The chief naval authority spoke of the losses after seven months: "five hundred merchantmen and three frigates. Can these statements be true, and can the English people hear them unmoved?"

Naturally, attempts at a renewal of negotiation made a week before the session of Congress and before the election of November 8th, were unsuccessful. Great Britain was unyielding, and from this time on the president bent his mind to the furtherance of war, sure either to make or to break the nation. On the 2d of November the second session of the Twelfth Congress assembled, on the eve of a national election. Madison had been nominated by a Congressional caucus of the Republican party, commonly

called "Democratic" since the Ninth Congress. Elbridge Gerry became the candidate for the vice-presidency. De Witt Clinton, a nephew of the late vice-president, was the nominee of the legislature of New York. In his support the Federalists allied themselves with their opponents, thus evidencing their inability to elect a candidate of their own party and also their hate of Madison and the war party. Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, was the Federalist candidate for vice-president. Historians are generally agreed that the record of the canvass in opposition to Mr. Madison makes an unsavory bit of reading in the political history of America. For purely local reasons the Democratic party of New York would not work in harmony with the main body. De Witt Clinton was in control and ran for high office, not because he was opposed to the war, for he favored it; not because he was not a Democrat, but because he hated Congressional caucuses and southern dictation. These were good enough reasons in peace, but the nation was in the agonies of war and needed the united efforts of its citizens. The electoral vote of 1812 was closer than was expected. Madison got the vote of the South and Clinton that of the North in the main. Vermont broke from the New England States and Pennsylvania from her neighbors. The total vote stood: Madison, one hundred and twenty-eight and Clinton eighty-nine; Gerry one hundred and thirty-one, and Ingersoll, the running mate of Clinton, eighty-six. It was highly fortunate in this crisis in the conduct of the war that the administration had strong support in Congress, for the peace party carried Congressional districts in New England and New York, thereby doubling the Federalist strength in the Thirteenth Congress, and an apathetic election on top of the disasters on the border boded ill for the administration. Even Monroe, who had declared in September to the French minister that the people were set on war, surprised him in six weeks with the statement that he might look for peace at any moment. But it was not to be. The British lion was too thoroughly enraged.

Early in the session of Congress a measure was brought forward in the House to increase the army by twenty thousand men, making the whole strength fifty-six thousand. The message of the president had called the attention of Congress to the need of a vigorous prosecution of the war. The debate on the army bill is famous for the great speech of Josiah Quincy and the rejoinder of Henry Clay. Quincy was a Damascus blade, and his bitter sarcasm fell with keenest stroke. He denounced the war against Canada as a "cruel, senseless, wanton, and wicked attack." He charged it upon the president and the Cabinet as a means for prolonging their hold upon office; he referred to "young politicians, their pinfeathers not yet grown," fluttering on the floor of the House; he said that the present call to arms sounded to the good people of New England less like the winding of a horn than the twang of a jews-harp or a banjo. Clay answered him in one of the most forceful and captivating speeches of his whole career. He charged the Federalists with always thwarting the plans of the administration in the controversy with Great Britain, with inconsistent crying for war in time of peace and for peace in time of war, with plotting against the life of the nation. He quoted with effect Quincy's own words in the debate upon the admission of territory from the Louisiana Purchase, and swept his audience to a high pitch of patriotic excitement as he pictured the wrongs of imprisoned American seamen. The bill passed by a vote of seventy-seven against forty-two. Orders were given for improving the navy and even for building four seventy-four-gun ships, six frigates and six sloops of war. It was voted to issue treasury notes amounting to five million dollars and to float a new loan for sixteen million dollars. The question of taxes was postponed to the following session.

The interest of Russia in the policy of peace between Great Britain and America was evident. No war that seemed to aid Napoleon could be favored by her. So when Romanzoff, the prime minister, suggested in September, 1812, to John Quincy Adams, the United States minister

at the court of St. Petersburg, the expediency of tendering the mediation of Russia in behalf of peace, it was favorably received, but the invasion of Napoleon into Russia delayed the measure. It was not till March, 1813, that the proffer was made to Mr. Madison, four days after his second inauguration. The intelligence of the failure of Napoleon's campaign against Russia gave much encouragement to the peace party. The prospect of increased difficulty strengthened the argument of those who reminded the administration that Great Britain was now free to use all her spare force against the United States. Madison, always anxious for honorable peace, sent Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard as envoys extraordinary to act with Adams for the negotiation of a treaty of peace at St. Petersburg. But on their arrival in July they met with difficulties. Great Britain had declined in May to accept the mediation of Russia, and was trying to prevent the czar from persisting in his design, "so mischievously calculated to promote the views of France," as Castlereagh wrote to Cathcart. Yet Castlereagh offered direct negotiation. The czar gave the American commissioners good reason to resent his treatment of them, for he had revived his purpose to mediate when they knew that he had information from Great Britain that the offices of a third party were not desired in the settlement. With this leaden prospect before them they left the Russian capital for London January 25, 1814, at a time when, as we shall see, the outlook for American diplomacy was no brighter than for American arms. Great Britain was exultant over the triumphs of Wellington, and the abdication of Napoleon naturally offered little hope for the people over sea if peace meant any hurt to the pride of a victorious nation. Yet it is interesting to note that the main feature of the first instructions to the commissioners was that they should demand the cessation of impressment.

As if to force upon the American people the gloominess of their future the manifesto of the prince regent, January 9, 1813, declared it was not the fault of Great Britain that the

war was on, that the causes of the war had been abolished in the revocation of the Orders in Council, and that nothing now remained but impressment and search. And so far as these were concerned, the "hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in times of war and the impressment of British seamen found therein" could never be deemed a violation of a neutral flag. This challenge met its appropriate response in the report of Calhoun on impressment four days later, and as they both reached the American people simultaneously, the definite denial of the one was matched by as definite defiance in the other.

The elections of 1813 between the first and second sessions of Congress were favorable to the administration. There was plenty of party spirit, but the voice of the polls was unmistakable. The three great States, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, were firm for war. Of the States of second size, Kentucky and South Carolina were unanimously for war, and North Carolina nearly so. Massachusetts, the disaffected State, was by a large majority opposed to the administration, but not to the extent of "reasonable opposition." Of States of the third rank, Ohio, Tennessee, Georgia, and New Jersey, were of one mind for continuing the struggle, but Connecticut and Maryland were opposed to it, the latter less so in Congress than in her State government. Vermont was represented in Congress by war men, and New Hampshire by peace men. Of the three remaining States, Rhode Island and Delaware were, in Congress at least, for peace, while Louisiana was for war. The popular voice clamored for the resignation of Eustis, and the affairs of the war department were intrusted to the hands of James Monroe till the appointment of John Armstrong as secretary of war gave promise of a more vigorous discharge of duties. In the navy, Hamilton was supplanted by William Jones, formerly shipmaster and lately commissary of purchases for the army.

One of the first acts of Armstrong was to create nine military districts. In his determination to do away with

the militia he gave opportunity to the coming military hero of the war to illustrate his peculiar indisposition to restraint. Armstrong ordered Jackson to disband the Tennessee volunteers when they reached Natchez on their way to the lower country and to turn over the stores and provisions to Wilkinson. Jackson refused and with no little indignation led his men back to Nashville, refusing to muster them out until they had reached home. The following month, April, Wilkinson took Mobile without bloodshed. Louisiana territory as far as the Perdido passed into the control of the United States, while East Florida was evacuated, and in May Amelia Island was handed back to Spain.

The ocean furnishes the scene of additional triumph and also of the first signal defeat by a British frigate. On February 24, 1813, the *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, captured the brig *Peacock* off the coast of British Guiana. The prowess of the Americans was so signally proved that a Halifax newspaper said: "It will not do for our vessels to fight theirs single-handed. The Americans are a dead nip." In September, the American brig *Enterprise* captured the *Boxer* off Portland, Maine. Both commanders were mortally wounded. The test was a fair one, and a London paper remarked upon the fight: "The fact seems to be but too clearly established that the Americans have some superior mode of firing."

The British strove to maintain a blockade of the entire Atlantic coast, but it was not until the summer of 1813 that it could be called reasonably effective; even then New England and Georgia were not entirely cut off from commerce with the world. The efforts of the British were constant and increased in vigor from month to month. By desperate bravery they won from no less gallant antagonists battles whose victory almost spelled defeat. One of these engagements, as sanguinary as it was important, was between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*. Captain Broke, one of the ablest commanders of the British navy, challenged Lawrence of the *Chesapeake* to come out of Boston harbor and engage the *Shannon*. The challenge was accepted and the conflict

took place east of Boston Light on June 1, 1813. The contesting ships were about equal in size, guns, and crew. As the *Chesapeake* closed in, the *Shannon* opened fire at half-past five in the afternoon. The *Chesapeake* replied, and for seven minutes the two ships ran together, when the *Chesapeake* became crippled and came up into the wind and was taken aback. She was thus exposed to the raking fire of the enemy. She could neither go ahead nor board her foe. As she drifted stern foremost to the *Shannon*, every broadside of the latter's guns swept her deck. She fouled the *Shannon* amidships. Lawrence had been mortally wounded early in the engagement. The crew of the *Shannon*, with Broke at their head, boarded the American frigate. Lawrence, seeing his men leaping down the ladders, cried out: "Don't give up the ship! Blow her up!" The fight was soon over. With equal valor the advantage proved to be on the side of the better discipline. The *Shannon* took her prize to Halifax, reaching there with the dead body of Lawrence, who had lived until the 5th of June. Seldom had Great Britain rejoiced over a single combat as she did over the news of the victory of Broke. It was a sad day for the United States when the body of the brave commander was brought back for burial in his native soil. But his spirit and his words lived again in the terrific conflict between Perry and Barclay on Lake Erie.

Turning to the Lake region we find activity as soon as the ice broke up. April 22d, an expedition against York, now Toronto, was undertaken. On the 27th, Commodore Chauncey landed the attacking force of which General Zebulon M. Pike was in charge. The enemy fled, but an explosion occurring immediately killed scores of the attacking party, among them Pike, whose death wound was given by a flying stone which crushed his chest. The Parliament House was burned, perhaps from wrath at the finding of a human scalp hanging over the Speaker's chair. The town was fired and destroyed. On May 27th, the reinforced army, now numbering nearly six thousand, captured Fort

George, on which the British forthwith evacuated all their strongholds on Niagara River. Two days later, General Jacob Brown repulsed Sir George Prevost from Sackett's Harbor, and for his skill and courage was made a brigadier in the regular army. On the 28th of May, Harrison withstood a siege from Proctor at Fort Meigs. General Dearborn's failure to win success on the Niagara frontier led to his retirement in June and the promotion of Wilkinson to command of the forces in the north.

Harrison had passed the winter in camp on the Maumee and with the opening of spring was eager for an advance upon Detroit. His forces were, however, for a long time inadequate owing to the neglect of the war department. With the troops at his command, however, he was able to drive Proctor from before Fort Meigs. A second invasion by Proctor was repelled, August 2d, by Major George Croghan at Fort Stephenson. So when, in midsummer, he had received reinforcements, it only remained for efficient co-operation by the navy to give Harrison his opportunity. Commodore Chauncey assigned to Captain Oliver H. Perry the command of operations on Lake Erie, and that young officer proceeded to build ships and man them. From March to July, 1813, he gave day and night to his task; and after disheartening attempts to secure proper crews, he finally weighed anchor August 12th and rendezvoused in Put-in-Bay Harbor, on the north side of Put-in-Bay Island, to the north of Sandusky. From his lookout he descried the British sail on the morning of the 10th of September. It was commanded by one of Nelson's captains, Barclay, who had been at Trafalgar, and whose fleet had six vessels carrying sixty-three carriage guns besides smaller cannon, and about four hundred and fifty men. Perry's squadron consisted of nine vessels carrying fifty-four carriage guns and two swivels, and about the same number of men as Barclay had. Perry had a slight superiority in the weight of metal. In his battleship, the *Lawrence*, he bore down upon the line of the enemy. After two hours of desperate

fighting, in which his ship was cut to pieces in her upper works, he transferred his flag in a small boat to the best armed ship of his line, the *Niagara*, which he reached unhurt through the storm of missiles. He immediately broke the line of the British, and in eight minutes Barclay's flagship struck her colors. Both sides had fought with the utmost determination. The land rang with the fame of the victory, of which the first notification reached General Harrison in the words of a despatch which Perry wrote on the back of an old letter, resting it upon the top of his cap: "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop."

With this clearing of the lake the power of the British in the northwest was near its end. The whole country was aflame with eager hope. The youthful commander was voted thanks and medals by State legislatures and by Congress, and three months' extra pay was given to each commissioned officer. The way was now open for the invasion of Canada by Harrison, whose forces had been increased by thirty-five hundred men under Governor Isaac Shelby, of King's Mountain fame. Of this force was a mounted company commanded by Richard M. Johnson. Harrison ordered an advance and the army was taken on Perry's fleet and landed on the Canadian shore. On October 5th, near the Moravian Town, a settlement of Christian Indians on the Thames, the American force encountered the British under Colonel Proctor and an Indian contingent under Tecumseh. Johnson's mounted men broke the line of the foe. The infantry advanced bravely. Proctor fled. Tecumseh was killed, as it was claimed, by Johnson himself. The crushing defeat of the British army brought peace to the northwest. Detroit was again in American hands. The Indians fell away from the alliance with the British and submitted to the inevitable,—the sight of their possessions passing slowly into the power of the white man.

The retirement of Dearborn had become inevitable, and in July he was superseded by General Wilkinson. Along

with him General Wade Hampton, stationed at Norfolk, Virginia, was ordered to the northern frontier. The new appointments were far from happy ones. A bitter jealousy existed between Wilkinson and Hampton, and the latter was almost traitorously unwilling to obey the orders of the former.

In August, Wilkinson arrived at Sackett's Harbor, to find that the expected fifteen thousand effectives had dwindled to nine thousand men. The sick list was large; the means of transport were inadequate; raw officers and troops offered small hope of success; the commander-in-chief himself was mistrusted, "an unprincipled imbecile," according to General Scott, while the honorable but hot-headed Hampton refused to serve under him. Wilkinson proposed a campaign which included a swift descent of the St. Lawrence and a junction with Hampton's column, then at Burlington on Lake Champlain, with the object of making a combined attack on Montreal. But as Armstrong opposed this, Wilkinson found himself at Sackett's Harbor with only indefinite plans for the conquest of Canada. The only determination was to concentrate troops at the Harbor and "strike a deadly blow somewhere."

Chauncey had been unable to engage Sir James Yeo in anything like a decisive battle on the Lake, and was ready to use his vessels for the transportation of the land troops eastward. The voyage was a disastrous one. Hampton was negligent in his efforts to dislodge the British, and returned to his old quarters at Chateaugay Four Corners. Chauncey found it impossible to blockade the British in Kingston harbor while Brown at French Creek was exposed to the marine scouts of the enemy. Wilkinson ordered his whole flotilla to push silently down the St. Lawrence, hoping to elude the British, who were gathering in force. He managed to reach a point about eighteen miles below Ogdensburg, and there realizing the peril of any delay he resolved to make every effort to reach Montreal. Brown crossed the river to march down the Canada



Oliver Hazard Perry. *After the engraving by J. B. Forrest
from the original by J. W. Jarvis.*

side only to find himself constantly harassed by the enemy. The British vessels followed the American flotilla so closely that Wilkinson was compelled at last, on the 11th of November, to fight the battle of Chrysler's Farm, where, after a struggle lasting five hours, the Americans were forced back. The expedition ended in disaster and disgrace. Having helped to defeat the effort of his chief to take Canada, Hampton abandoned the army under censure, leaving Brown, who had exhibited every mark of good generalship, to care for the suffering soldiers. Wilkinson went into winter quarters at French Mills.

On the Niagara frontier matters went from bad to worse for the Americans. General McClure had been in command of Fort George on the Canadian side of the river. Hearing of the failure of Wilkinson's expedition, and receiving startling intelligence of the coming of the British from the westward, he abandoned the fort December 10th, then applied the torch to the beautiful village of Newark and departed to the east side of the river, leaving a stain upon the American character and inviting retaliation. On the 19th of the same month, Colonel Murray successfully assaulted Fort Niagara, and spread desolation throughout the region. Buffalo had short respite. General George Gordon Drummond led the British against the devoted village, and when plunder and destruction were ended only four buildings were left standing. The British took full measure of vengeance for the needless act of McClure. Fort Niagara remained in the hands of the British until the close of the war. If defeat were education, the government had indeed learned something in a hard school.

Affairs in the Gulf region demand brief attention. In the south, the Creek Indians, less warlike than their kinsmen of the north, claimed a section three hundred miles square lying between Tennessee River and the Gulf and stretching from the middle of Georgia to its present western boundary. The Creeks had been induced to take up a few of the simpler arts of civilization, and the plow and

spinning wheel were not unknown. The less savage they were, however, the more perplexing to the whites was their claim of land. The national government dealt more leniently with them than did the States immediately concerned in their future. The Indians slowly gave way. Their hunting grounds were narrowed, and their outlet at Pensacola was a bone of contention between two great nations. It was not till the visits of Tecumseh, in 1811, that they became restless under vicissitudes. This gifted agitator and organizer urged a pacific attitude toward the whites and union with other Indians. The return of several young warriors who had been at the battle on the banks of the Raisin revived the slumbering instincts of their old savage life, and by August 1, 1813, two thousand braves were on the war path, destroying stock and human life. At Fort Mims, a stockade on the west bank of the Alabama, just above its junction with the Tombigbee, was a motley crowd of refugees under command of two half-breeds. The Indian warriors, on August 30th, took the fort by surprise and massacred all within except fifteen persons. After this there was of course little mercy for the doomed Indians. They could look for no aid from their friends in the northwest. The Cherokees and Choctaws declined to join them in their conflict with the whites. Their own strength numbered not more than four thousand warriors. A fearful cry arose from the Southwest. Governor Blount, of Tennessee, issued a spirited call for aid. Andrew Jackson was placed in command of the troops of Tennessee, and by October 12th was in Alabama with twenty-five hundred soldiers.

A vigorous campaign was carried on for seven months. During this time the troops destroyed many Indian villages and defeated the tribesmen in a score of petty engagements. The winter of 1813 was marked by dissatisfaction and mutiny and Jackson was obliged to form a new army to replace the troops that left the field by hundreds. He still maintained an offensive policy and continually raided the

Indian towns. The final battle of the Creek War was fought by Jackson at Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend, on Tallapoosa River, on March 29, 1814. The Americans greatly outnumbered the Indians, but the latter fought with the utmost bravery. Out of the thousand who went into the battle in the morning, not more than two hundred were alive at its close. The power of the Creeks was forever destroyed. Their chief, Weathersford, was not killed, and after the battle entered into negotiations for peace. By its terms, Jackson opened to settlement by whites over three-quarters of the territory of the Upper Creeks and cut off the Lower Creeks from communication with Florida through their cession of large tracts of territory.

The present chapter has been largely taken up with military affairs. A glance at other phases of national interest will bring it to an end. The called session of the Thirteenth Congress found an increase in the membership owing to the new apportionment. The House comprised one hundred and eighty-two members, and its roll bore some names which were speedily to become famous, and omitted two, at least, whose places as speakers it would be hard to fill,—Quincy, who had declined election, and Randolph, who had been beaten in his own district by Eppes, son-in-law of Jefferson. The old school of Jefferson, in its peace-loving policy and anti-nationalism, was a lessening power. Calhoun, Clay, Cheves, Grundy, represented the new school. Clay was reelected Speaker. The South and West had but nine peace men, while they had seventy-five in favor of vigorous war measures. The Federalists had made distinct gains and had elected sixty-eight members; among them, Grosvenor, of New York, Cyrus King, of Massachusetts, and Daniel Webster, of New Hampshire, soon to take foremost rank among American orators. In the Senate were twenty-seven Republicans and nine Federalists, but some of the former were disaffected and could not be relied upon to support the administration. The chief object of the session was the passage of tax bills to re-enforce the revenue.

It is significant that the party which had stood out against internal taxes, now, under pressure of war, advocated the taxes they had abolished in 1802 and had opposed for ten years. At the present hour, with the Federalists in opposition, the Republicans heartily supported taxes on carriages, salt, sugar refineries, legal documents, and whiskey stills, and sent the tax collector out upon his unwelcome duty.

The governor and legislature of Massachusetts offered through Timothy Pickering a vigorous remonstrance against any further prosecution of the war. Congress quietly laid the memorial on the table and left it to be condemned by the country at large. Congress adjourned in August to meet again in December. On December 9th, Madison sent a message urging an embargo act to prevent unpatriotic citizens from supplying the enemy with goods in so-called neutral vessels. This last embargo of the war endeavored to seal up all ports, but was especially aimed at New England. It was passed in secret session, in the Senate on December 16th, and in the House a few days later. It refused to the ports of the Eastern States a privilege from which others had been debarred. The blockade of the enemy had accomplished all the purpose of an embargo, save on the part of the coast where British ships were ordered to be more lenient, as along the northeast shore in the first half of the war. It was not expected that the measure would leave New England less strong in her antipathy, both toward the war and the administration, the more so as immediate news came of Castlereagh's offer of direct peace negotiations, and, above all, of the complete overthrow of the French emperor at Leipzig. In New England the doctrine of secession found expression in the columns of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the only daily paper in New England, and though no responsible person championed the step proposed, a correspondent suggested that steps be taken to arrange for a separate peace, or at least to take the position of neutrality, and let others fight it out. In this way the year 1813 came to its close.

CHAPTER VI

LAST YEAR OF THE WAR

THE last year of the war, 1814, opened gloomily enough. The country was in no mood to exult over the victories of Perry and Harrison. The British blockade had been growing more oppressive with the passing months; the whole coast was in constant alarm. The only frigate at the beginning of the year that was ranging the ocean freely was the *Essex*, in command of Captain David Porter, and the only smaller vessels that ventured upon the ocean were the numerous privateers. Late calamities burdened patriotism with grave apprehensions. The recent raid on the Niagara frontier left mingled exasperation and lamentation. Much valuable property, both private and public, had been lost as a consequence of British activity.

The cost of the war for 1812 to the Federal government had been twenty-two and a quarter million dollars, and to this must be added the amounts expended and the debts incurred by the individual States. In 1813 the cost had mounted up to nearly thirty-nine and a quarter million dollars. Federalists had not taken kindly to the loans made necessary by the war, and even Republicans paid their taxes without enthusiasm. The gayety of the New Year's reception was somewhat forced, and though the ostrich plume of Mrs. Madison nodded as airily as in happier days, yet the letters of the gracious lady reveal her anxiety: "It is a sorrowful fact that there appears nothing better in our

perspective than disgrace or war." To add suspicion to failure was to fill the cup to the brim. Commodore Decatur had been chafing over the restraint of the blockade and had made secret preparations for slipping out of Thames River at New London on the evening of December 12, 1813, the night being dark and the wind being in his favor. While awaiting the time of departure, word reached him that at different times between eight and ten o'clock blue lights had been seen at the mouth of the river, on both shores. He took them to be signals to the British, and so wrote to the secretary of the navy. The signals were repeated, and Decatur did not sail. The *New London Gazette* denounced those who had made the signals which had prevented the escape of Decatur, and was censured by some of the Federalists of the town for venturing to do so. On a night in March, 1814, when Decatur made another effort to escape, other blue lights were thrown up and were answered by guns from the ships of the enemy. The story of the first blue lights spread through the land and intensified the rancor of partisan controversy, for it was more than suspected that the act was that of traitorous Americans. The term "blue light Federalist" has remained in the American political vocabulary. A motion was made in Congress to investigate the affair, but, through Calhoun's influence, it was tabled, as too insignificant to merit attention.

More significant than such incidents were the threatening memorials from the extreme Federalists of New England. Their representatives were thorns in the side of the administration. They charged Madison with being the tool of the emperor. A hot debate ensued, ending with the House voting down the proposed inquiry into the charges. The most serious business of the session lay in the effort of the administration to secure means for strengthening the army and filling the empty treasury, at the head of which was placed, as Gallatin's successor, George Washington Campbell, of Tennessee. Acts were passed looking to these ends, but the debates attending their passage brought to

the front the severest criticism of the conduct of the war. Foremost in the ranks of the opponents of the president and his party was Daniel Webster.

This statesman was born on January 18, 1782, at Salisbury, New Hampshire. His weak constitution released him from the heavy work of the farm, performed by his brothers. He gathered information in such fashion as suited his taste and ability; he never could remember the time when he could not read. A smattering of knowledge gained in the district school was followed by better training in Exeter Academy, and this by a course in Dartmouth College, where he distinguished himself not so much by exceptional scholarship as by eloquence. He was not tall, but massive; and with his deep black eyes, sheltered by an overhanging brow of noble proportions, he instantly attracted attention. His degree gained in 1801, he read law, taught school, returned to law under Christopher Gore in Boston, and then began his great career as an advocate. The year after his admission to the bar, his reputation increased until he was known all over the lower half of New Hampshire. In 1812, he delivered the Fourth of July oration at Portsmouth. • The notoriety of this speech, which denounced the conduct of the war and advocated an increase in the navy, procured his election as delegate to the convention of Rockingham County, called for the purpose of pronouncing against the war and choosing a nominee for Congress. He was chosen to draw up the Rockingham Memorial. This was received with such favor throughout New Hampshire that in the following fall Webster was elected to Congress. His first motion in the House, June 10, 1813, was to call for information upon the subject of the time of the repeal of the French decrees. Webster declared that the whole matter of the withdrawal of the decrees was involved in doubt; that it was not until the declaration of war that a decree appeared repealing the French Decrees, which bore the date of the 28th of April, 1811. After a warm discussion the motion prevailed to ask the

president for papers throwing light upon the subject. Henry Adams does not overstate it when he says: "In no respect did Madison's administration make an appearance less creditable than in its attitude toward Napoleon's Decrees, again and again solemnly asserted by it to have been repealed, in the face of proof that the assertion was unfounded." The result of the resolution was to disturb the friends of Madison, and they were slow to fling back the charges and clear their chief from blame. A year later, on January 14, 1814, Webster challenged the administration to prove that the blame for the existing state of affairs was due to the opposition. He protested with grave vehemence against any stifling of free discussion; he denounced the restrictions on trade, and said: "If the war must continue, go to the ocean. . . . There the united wishes and exertions of the nation will go with you. Even our party divisions, acrimonious as they are, cease at the water's edge." The House was convinced by the argument, and voted a large appropriation for the navy, but the Senate would not concur. It persisted in this action, although the story of the *Essex* came to quicken the blood of every patriot.

The *Essex* was commanded by David Porter, "a small, slight, and rather ill-favored New England man, of genius, nerve, and capacity for heroic achievement." When a lad he had suffered at the hands of a British pressgang, and he was thereby animated by revenge as well as patriotism. His exploits broke up the English whale trade in the Pacific, where he cruised for a year. He made up a fleet of nine vessels out of the conquered ships, manned them, fitted them for privateering work, paid for such expenses with the coin he took from one of his prizes, and terrorized the Pacific. In February, 1814, he was blockaded in the harbor of Valparaiso by Captain Hillyar, in command of the *Phæbe*, thirty-six guns, and the *Cherub*, eighteen guns. Owing to the effects of a heavy squall the disabled *Essex* was at the mercy of the foe. One of the bloodiest conflicts of the war was fought March 27th, and the *Essex* was forced to surrender.

A handful of notable sea fights on the Atlantic closed the record of the little American navy. When the war ended it was in a high state of efficiency. The new sloop-of-war, the second *Wasp*, eighteen guns, left Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May 1, 1814, under command of Captain Johnston Blakeley, and on the 28th of June captured the British sloop-of-war *Reindeer*, Captain William Manners. After another conflict, in which the *Wasp* sank the *Avon*, Blakeley continued a successful cruise until October 9th, after which she disappeared, and with all her gallant people perished in an unknown way. On April 29, 1814, the *Peacock*, Captain Lewis Warrington, compelled the *Epervier* to strike her colors at the end of forty minutes. In February, 1815, the *Constitution*, at the time in command of Captain Charles Stewart, defeated two British vessels, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*, and then made her escape from three British frigates which bore down upon her. On January 15, 1815, Decatur was forced to surrender the *President* to a squadron of British ships. On the 23d of January, the *Hornet*, Captain James Biddle, captured and afterward scuttled the *Penguin* after a conflict lasting twenty-three minutes. This was the last regular naval battle of the war.

The work of the privateers was almost as remarkable as that of the frigates. They threw themselves across all lines of British trade with amazing intrepidity, to the despair of their foes. These schooners were the fastest sailing vessels in the world and won the admiration of all those who loved trim and graceful craft. They carried one or two "Long Toms," and from four to sixteen other guns, and were manned by from fifty to one hundred and fifty men. They fairly blockaded Great Britain.

The exploits of the privateers were conspicuous from the month after the proclamation of war until some time after the treaty of peace. The first one to bring in a prize was the *Fame*, Captain Webb, which took two ships into Salem July 10, 1812. The *Rossie*, a swift clipper-built schooner, commanded by the veteran Commodore Joshua Barney, and

carrying fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-four men, sailed from Baltimore on the 12th of July, 1812, and cruised for forty-five days, almost daily capturing British vessels. The *Globe*, Captain Murphy; the *Highflyer*, Captain Gavit; the *Shadow*, Captain Taylor, and the *Comet*, Captain Thomas Boyle, were famous cruisers. The last named had a remarkable record. The *Chasseur*, "the swiftest of all vessels," has left us a story full of the most exciting character. She captured eighty vessels, thirty-two her equal and eighteen her superior. Her commander was Captain Boyle, who had left the *Comet* in the repair dock for the newer schooner.

The voyage of the *True Blooded Yankee* is an example of their exploits. In the spring of 1813 she cruised thirty-seven days off the Irish coast and captured twenty-seven vessels, sank coasters in Dublin Bay, landed in a Scottish harbor and burned seven vessels. They were the one freely moving arm of the whole American service. They humiliated the British navy. The London *Times* said: "If they fight they are sure to conquer; if they fly they are sure to escape." Of the sixteen hundred and fifty prizes brought home or destroyed, the privateers took about twelve hundred, inflicting a loss upon Great Britain of thirty-six million dollars.

The most famous fighter of all the line of privateersmen was the *General Armstrong*, commanded by Captain Samuel C. Reid. While lying in the neutral harbor of Fayal, one of the Azores, the 26th of September, 1814, she was attacked by a British squadron under command of Commodore Lloyd. Three times during the night the British attempted to board her, and were driven off with severe losses. It was not till Reid scuttled his ship that she fell into the hands of the British. The American loss was two killed and seven wounded, while the enemy lost over three hundred killed and wounded in a fight lasting ten hours. A few lines are not sufficient to celebrate the worth of Captain Reid. His daring exploit doubtless saved New Orleans from the British on their way thither, for the delay of the fight at Fayal

gave General Jackson time to reach the defenceless city in advance of the British expedition, which arrived there ten days later than it had expected. Captain Reid is also held in memory for having suggested the present arrangement for the flag of the United States.

In one of the latest histories of the British navy the author discovers the real significance of the astounding triumphs of the single ship actions. "A series of victories they achieved in single ship actions with us in this war cannot altogether be attributed to superiority in size of vessel, number of guns, or strength of crew." The explanation is in the men behind the guns. There were twelve single ship actions: two of them went to the credit of the British, two had honors evenly drawn, the other eight showed the superiority of the Americans. The whole number of British vessels captured during the war on lake and ocean, by privateer and national vessels reached the large total of seventeen hundred and fifty. The British royal navy captured and destroyed forty-two national vessels, two hundred and thirty-three privateers and fourteen hundred and thirty-seven merchantmen.

Turning to the Canadian frontier we discover signs of life and vigor. The jealous incapacity of army leaders was nearing its end. It remained for Wilkinson to make another attempt in March to recover the frontier and then to resign covered with obloquy. General Brown succeeded him, and began to whip into better shape the raw troops. His instant dismissal of disobedient officers acted like a tonic. He imparted his spirit to the soldiers, who determined to beat the enemy at the first opportunity.

Perplexing orders from the war department led General Brown to make a move in force against Niagara when he should have feinted there and made Kingston his main objective. Discovering his error he pushed westward to Buffalo. Then, as Sackett's Harbor was menaced, he gave Brigadier-general Scott control of the army at Buffalo and hastened back to Sackett's Harbor. Finding it safe he returned to

Buffalo and made ready for the invasion of Canada. Orders were issued on July 2d to cross the river. Early in the morning of the 3d, Scott captured Fort Erie. He then moved north to Chippewa Plain and was joined by General Brown with the reserve under General Ripley and the artillery under command of Major Hindman. At Chippewa one of the fiercest battles of the war was fought on July 5th. The loss of the Americans was sixty-one killed and two hundred and seventy-four wounded and missing. The British lost in killed two hundred and thirty-six and in wounded and missing three hundred and sixty-eight. The total number of Brown's effectives before Chippewa did not exceed three thousand five hundred. After the battle of Chippewa General Drummond, the ablest British general since Brock, ordered up his men and occupied a position lying on a road from which the next battle got the name: Lundy's Lane. On the morning of July 25th, Brown was able to muster two thousand six hundred effective soldiers, and the British faced him with about the same number. Scott was ordered to go forward and he moved from Chippewa with one thousand men and three guns, only to find the British holding the road in his front with seventeen hundred men and seven field pieces. Scott fought with fierce impetuosity till nine o'clock, when reinforcements arrived on both sides, and gave the British the advantage by about six hundred men. When Brown's fresh men came up they found Scott's lines utterly fagged out. The eye of the battle was the battery in the centre of the British front. Seeing the utter hopelessness of capturing the ridge till the guns had been put out of action, Brown ordered Colonel James Miller to make the attempt. Miller's "I'll try, sir," gave him distinction through life. In the face of a most bitter defence his men captured the guns and held them for three hours. The enemy were repulsed four times. Far into the night, with the booming of the tumbling Niagara for background to their spasmodic cannonade, the battle crashed on to its end. Brown and Scott were both wounded,

but not until the latter had captured General Riall. At midnight, with nearly every officer wounded, Brown ordered Hindman to retire with his guns, and the famished and weary soldiers quietly, and without molestation from the foe, drew back to their camp in perfect order. They took their own guns, or all but one, and for that they took one of the enemy's; but on going back to the ridge with horses to haul off the battery Miller had captured, they found the British had moved up in force and were in possession of the hill. Thus the enemy claimed the winning of Lundy's Lane. The losses on both sides were severe. The Americans suffered to the extent of one hundred and seventy-one killed and five hundred and seventy-one wounded, and one hundred and ten missing, a total of eight hundred and fifty-two. The British loss was eight hundred and seventy-eight, of whom eighty-four were killed, five hundred and fifty-nine wounded, one hundred and ninety-three missing, and forty-two prisoners. Both sides claimed the victory, and both fought as only brave and disciplined men can fight.

The British followed the battle of Lundy's Lane with an assault upon Fort Erie, August 15th, which was repulsed by General Edmund P. Gaines, after which, losing hope of driving the Americans from the river the enemy withdrew. General Brown was incapacitated by his wound and forced to transfer the command of the Niagara force to General George Izard, who withdrew the American army to the east side of Niagara River, for he considered his force in danger because of the growing strength of the British and the superiority of their means of obtaining supplies. An expedition to the Upper Lakes, under Commander Arthur St. Clair in charge of the squadron, assisted by Lieutenant-colonel Croghan leading the land forces, was beaten off by the British at Mackinac, July 26, 1814.

The downfall of Napoleon released English soldiers from continental service and several thousands were sent to strengthen the lines in front of Montreal, for the British military authorities purposed to revive Burgoyne's old plan

of invading the States and cutting off New England from the Union. But the project was destined to fail. In September, the British determined to occupy Maine, and went so far as to compel the people in the province east of the Penobscot to take the oath of allegiance to King George. The next movement was to gain the command of Lake Champlain. For the execution of the double purpose of holding what they had taken and cutting off the eastern section from the rest of the Union, Sir George Prevost gathered in the neighborhood of Plattsburg a force more formidable than Wolfe or Cornwallis had led, the one to victory, the other to defeat. Without including the Canadian militia, there were in the left division of the army in Canada eighteen thousand men. The fleet was only less formidable than the land force. The British had no doubt of the final success of their scheme. To oppose this combined force, General Alexander Macomb had two thousand men in the town of Plattsburg, and Captain Thomas Macdonough a small squadron in the bay.

Cumberland Head is a peninsula dipping nearly south into the lake and enclosing on the west the bay of Plattsburg. Macdonough lay at anchor between the point and the town on the west side of the bay. His little fleet numbered fourteen vessels, the largest being of seven hundred and thirty-four tons, and carrying in all eight hundred and eighty-two men, with a broadside from eighty-six guns of about one thousand one hundred pounds. Captain George Downie, of the royal navy, the commander of the opposing fleet, had sixteen vessels carrying nine hundred and thirty men and ninety-two guns with about the same broadside as the Americans. He claimed that his flagship, the *Confiance*, was a match for the whole opposing fleet. As the flotilla of the British rounded the point on the morning of the 11th of September they were compelled to make their approach to their foes with bows on, thus giving the Americans a pronounced advantage, as Macdonough had planned. He knelt on the deck to invoke heaven's blessing on the

battle, then opened it with a destructive broadside, firing the first twenty-four pounder himself. The ball, well-aimed, entered the hawsehole of the *Confiance* and crashed its way through men and timbers till it tore the wheel from its fastenings. The long range fighting having ceased as the vessels drew nearer, terrific volleys at close range gave a furiously destructive character to the battle. The disposition of the American vessels prevented the British from flanking them. Attempts at boarding were frustrated by most desperate resistance. The commander of the Americans toiled like a common sailor. The commander of the British fell in battle. Confusion followed hard upon his death. Macdonough was now able to veer his ships, hitherto swinging at anchor, and to use his stern guns against the *Confiance*, which now swung with her head to the wind and her guns on the engaged side useless. Half her crew were dead, her masts in splinters, and her sails in rags, and in this condition she struck, two hours after firing her first broadside. The larger British vessels fell into the hands of the conqueror, while the smaller ones, galleys propelled by oars, escaped. Prevost had witnessed the fight from the shore of the bay. He now made a precipitate retreat with the "invincibles" of Wellington, after suffering a severe repulse at the hands of General Macomb.

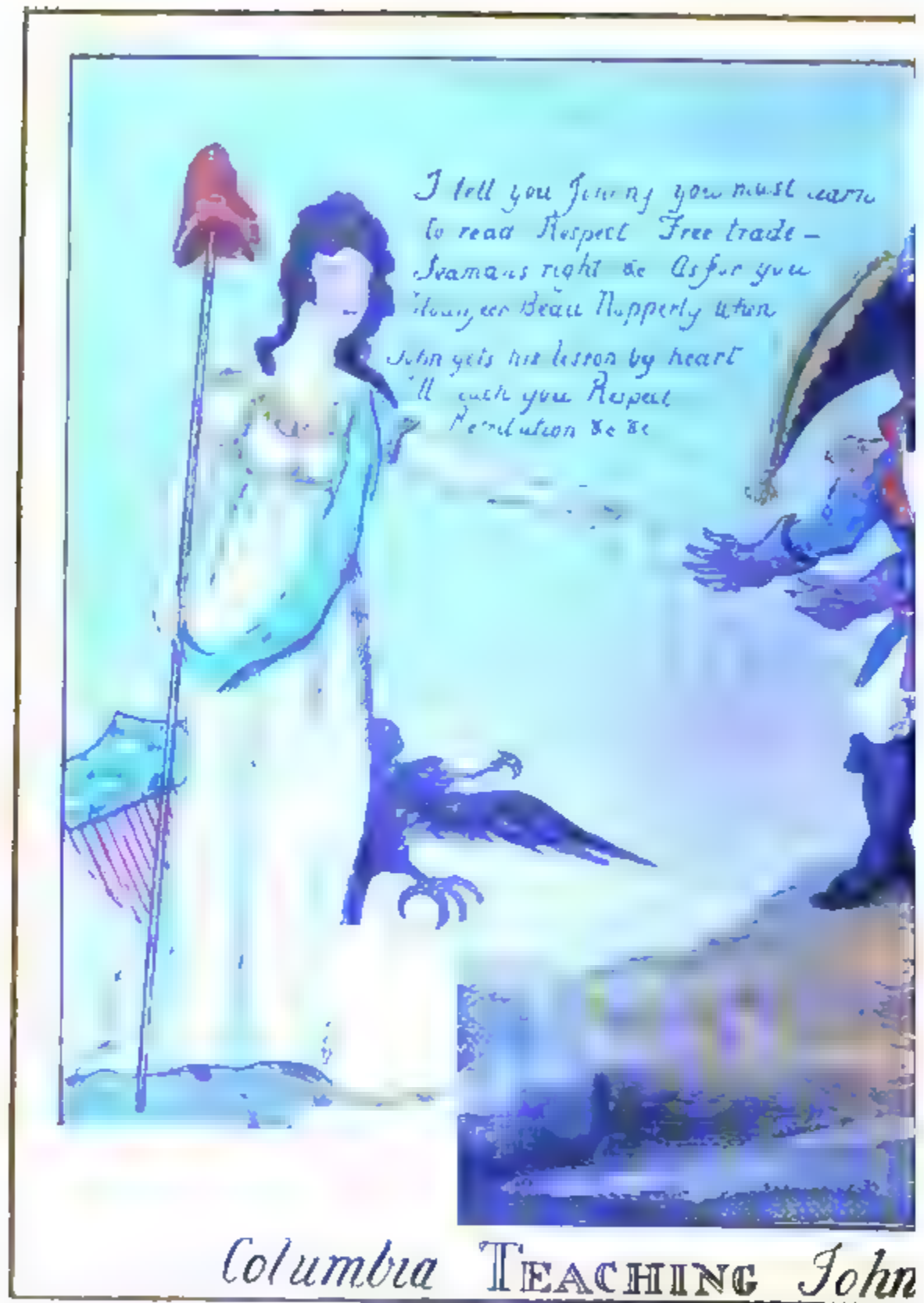
The American forces on both the northern and southern frontiers were holding the British in check, but a blow had been planned against the central portion of the eastern frontier that struck home. The city of Washington had no defence in the way of battery or breastwork, but Armstrong, the secretary of war, had little fear for its safety, even though he had learned that the British had arrived in the Chesapeake with a powerful fleet and an army of five thousand men. He declared that Washington was not their objective point and that they were moving against Baltimore. But the enemy marched, in sultry weather, through an unknown country, forty miles northwest to the capital. Armstrong was negligent and inactive, even more

so than the unmilitary president. It was not until the 22d of August that there was collected a small army of somewhat over three thousand men, with seventeen guns, and an insignificant body of cavalry. This force was to be opposed to hardened veterans. Mismanagement and cowardice characterized the feeble efforts to avert the British advance. A flotilla which might have been of service was destroyed through carelessness, spies moved about the city, and disquieting and contradictory rumors added to the indecision and affected the plans of the American leaders. The British advanced to a small village named Bladensburg, where for a few hours the cool courage of Commodore Barney and the gallantry of his small force of sailors, about four hundred, held them in check. The defeated Americans fell back through the city, with the enemy pressing after them. On entering the capital on August 24th, the British burned all the public buildings save the Patent Office. There were some in Great Britain at the time, not to say afterward, who found no excuse for the retaliatory act by which Washington was burned because York, now Toronto, had been destroyed in the same manner. The *London Statesman* wrote: "Willingly could we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America."

The British, under General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, moved up the bay to attack Baltimore on the 13th of September, but failed both in the land movement and the assault from the sea. The night bombardment and the unharmed star-spangled banner floating in the morning air inspired a young man, Francis S. Key, of Baltimore, to write the American national air, sung first in a restaurant to the tune *Anacreon in Heaven*.

Notwithstanding the victory of Macdonough and the brave defence of Baltimore, the outlook in September was not flattering. The government was nearly bankrupt. Many of the officers were notoriously incompetent. The recruiting service was an acknowledged failure. The separate

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"Columbia Teaching John Bull his new Lesson." From the car.
of the Historical Socy



John Bull has new LESSON

Cartoon engraved by William Charles after S. Kennedy, in possession of Society of Pennsylvania.

States called out large numbers of men, it is true, but the general government usually had inadequate control over them, and, when it had, failed to utilize it. Massachusetts might praise its militia, and it had the best body of State troops in the Union, but the reason for their employment was known in its purpose to dictate to the Union when the government came to a standstill. So eager were the people of New England for this event, that the *Boston Centinel* of September 10th but voiced their sentiments when it announced that the Union was practically dissolved. The burning of the capital, business depression, and the advance of the British under Admiral Cockburn to attack Savannah, chilled the hopes of the patriots and quickened the energy of the opposition.

Congress convened on September 19th, holding its sessions in the Patent Office. But the session soon got an ill name for its feeble grip upon public affairs. "The imbecility, the folly, the vacillation" of the majority and the "stubborn, the violent, the factious opposition of the minority" left little prospect of wise legislation. Madison, in his message at the opening of Congress, rather strained the facts when he emphasized the patriotism of the people: "We see them rushing with enthusiasm to the scenes where danger and duty call." Armstrong, who had become thoroughly discredited as the result of his incapacity, was replaced in the war secretaryship by Monroe. There was an augury of good in this, and in Campbell's resignation and the appointment of Dallas as secretary of the treasury there lay the promise of a more stable financial future. As able as he was popular, and as irritable to his party as he was necessary to it in its hour of crisis, A. J. Dallas walked in the path of the great statesman Gallatin as the latter had walked after Hamilton, the founder of the nation's financial system.

As the war dragged to its close three places must claim simultaneous attention, Hartford, New Orleans, and Ghent. In the last, slow debate was evolving unsatisfactory terms of peace in which the original contentions of the war were

not named; the second was the scene of splendid energy in making ready to expel the foe; while in the first named a small gathering of malcontents were, in highly questionable secrecy, discussing means for checking further exercise of federal powers.

It was at Hartford that all the incidental and scattered acts of opposition to the war with which the aristocracy of New England had annoyed the government, came to a head in the month of December in a meeting of highly respectable gentlemen and political leaders. The outcome was of the nature of an anti-climax. The stertorous breathings of the mountain in the beginning died away in the squeak of a mouse in the end. It is not easy to portion out praise and blame to each section of the country when troublous times distribute unequal burdens upon sections too busy with war to speak calmly and to judge fairly. In the opening of the war, the two parties in New England were about evenly divided. As the struggle wore on, the peace party, in which the old leaders of State politics had a chance to resume their places at the front, was not idle in adding fret and friction when the administration sought to combine the States for offensive warfare. The inability of the Federalists to stop the strife did not lessen their sermons, legislative acts, and proclamations against it. The Hartford Convention was the climax of the resistance of the peace party to the policy of the national administration.

Massachusetts had contributed not a little for the war, four times as much money as Virginia and about the same number of militia, while the regulars enlisted from the Bay State in 1814 were six regiments to three from Virginia. Of all the States, New York alone sent more regulars than Massachusetts to the field; but in direct loans for the war the State was far behind others of its financial rank. When a loan was offered it was found difficult to place it in Massachusetts, and a Federal paper rejoiced in 1813 that Boston had given only seventy-five thousand dollars for "heating the war poker." About two-thirds of the eastern papers

were opposed to the war. In the *Boston Gazette* we find: "It is better to suffer the amputation of a limb than to lose the whole body. We must prepare for the operation." To a degree the leaders recovered their former influence over the common people. From June 26, 1812, when the *Boston Repertory* advised Massachusetts to withdraw from the Union rather than to engage in the war, to the final growl of Timothy Pickering that the Hartford Convention had not gone far enough, there were extremists who ceased not to cavil and contend. Remonstrance after remonstrance from the legislature of Massachusetts was sent to Washington. Not even the valor of a naval hero could evoke a sympathetic resolution from the majority, for the resolution of the Massachusetts legislature after the death of Lawrence ran thus: "It is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military and naval exploits not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil." Yet the strength of the war party in the State was not inconsiderable, and their efforts were aided by the commercial advantages which, during the first half of the war, came from the diversion of capital into channels which returned high rates of interest to the enterprising speculator, daring privateer, and industrious manufacturer. These gained for the administration a reasonable support until the last year of the war. Massachusetts then complained that as the British blockade grew tighter and the northeast littoral fell into the hands of the enemy the general government was disposed to leave it to care for itself. It did make ready for a stubborn resistance, but was disgruntled because the administration refused to pay the bills. Monroe declined to do so, for the reason that Massachusetts had withheld its militia from the control of the war department; but at the very time that Massachusetts was refusing its jails for the housing of prisoners of war, Monroe was planning means for its defence.

The plan for a convention was not new. As early as December 15, 1808, Harrison Gray Otis had written to

Josiah Quincy and suggested a meeting of representatives from the New England States to discuss the political situation and take such action as might be found necessary and expedient. A call for a convention was issued by the Massachusetts legislature. Twelve delegates went from the larger State, headed by men like George Cabot, Nathan Dane, Stephen Longfellow, and Otis. Connecticut sent up seven, led by Goodrich and Hillhouse. Rhode Island sent four. Vermont and New Hampshire were not in full accord with the scheme, and only county conventions were represented by three delegates, two from the latter State and one from the former. Their legislatures blocked the way for official recognition of the convention. The delegates met on December 15, 1814. The Episcopal rector was invited to open the proceedings with prayer, but he refused, saying he knew no prayer for rebellion. The Twenty-fifth Regulars, under the command of Colonel Thomas S. Jesup, of Kentucky, who had won fame at Lundy's Lane, kept wise and quiet watch over the assembly. Until the 5th of January the members met twice every day save Sundays. Mystery surrounded the whole affair, though from the letters of Jesup to the president there was no evidence of anything objectionable in the proceedings. George Cabot was president and Theodore Dwight secretary. The injunction of inviolable secrecy upon the members was never lifted. Exactly what the individual members thought or said could not be found out from the sealed journal which Cabot delivered to his native State several years later, for in this was only a most meagre sketch of the formal proceedings of the Convention. The report and resolutions given out to the public did not satisfy the extremists, who wanted more radical action, nor did the convention give ground for the alarm that the war party feared. It included protests against conscriptions, a demand for State control of the taxes collected by Federal officials within the State that they might be used for State protection, and a direction that the New England States should arm troops

for mutual protection against the invasions of the foe. In addition to this, the convention proposed seven amendments to the Constitution as follows: the exclusion of slaves from the basis of representation and apportionment of taxes; a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress as a prerequisite for the admission of new States; restraint of the power of Congress in laying embargoes for more than sixty days; a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress for interdicting commercial relations with foreign countries; a two-thirds vote of both Houses for declaring war; the making any person naturalized thereafter ineligible to any civil office; and ineligibility of a president to serve a second term. It decreed that the president should not be chosen two terms in succession from one and the same State.

The report was accepted by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and a commission was appointed to lay the plan for taxes before Congress. The commissioners arrived at a most inopportune time. The news of Jackson's great victory over the British at New Orleans had turned the tide of public sentiment, and the commissioners slipped home without accomplishing anything. The papers of the day turned into fun what had looked serious enough. The *National Advocate*, of New York, offered a reward for "three unfortunate gentlemen from Boston who had missed their way to Washington in the service of the Hartford Convention."

Was this body of honorable men guilty of treasonable intent? John Quincy Adams believed it was. But he may, as has been said, have been "formidable as an accuser, but fallible as a witness." It is evident that the members of the Convention were not desperate men, only garrulous complainers, and that their report was not so spiced as many of their supporters wished. The people of Massachusetts would have welcomed a more pronounced declaration. In time of peace, its conclusions would have furnished matter for debate; but in time of war they gave patriots good reasons for suspecting their authors of folly or

of treason. At any rate, the Hartford Convention was not only a millstone for the necks of all present in the secret conclave, but it sealed the doom of the Federalist party. Men endeavored to exculpate themselves. Otis apologized for it ten years afterward. He acknowledged that "hereafter, similar associations for political purposes will be inexpedient, unwise, and impolitic." When Theodore Lyman connected Daniel Webster's name with it, Webster instantly prosecuted him for libel. That the friends of the administration had well-founded reasons for suspecting the motives of the delegates is evident from the temper of the Federalist press of the day. One of the papers, *The Federal Republican*, of Baltimore, contained a letter on the very day of the adjournment of the body at Hartford, January 5, 1815, announcing an "explosion at hand; that the president would be called on to resign; and there must be peace by that or a future administration."

The Hartford Convention has significance, not as the agreement of a few leaders, but as the product and climax of years of tendency. The Convention and its resolutions but gave expression to the beliefs and ideas prevalent in an important section of the nation. It was not an "exceptional bit of infamy." It was rather the culmination of the domestic political struggle from 1801 to 1815.

The proposed mediation of Russia having been without result, the United States willingly agreed to Great Britain's proposal for a joint commission to arrange a peace. The powers given to Adams, Bayard, and Gallatin in 1812 were renewed and amplified, and Jonathan Russell, then minister to Sweden, and Henry Clay were directed to act with them as the representatives of the United States in the proposed conference, which was to be held at Gottenburg in Sweden. The place of meeting was changed to Ghent, in Southern Netherlands, now Belgium, and there on August 8, 1814, the convention began its sessions. The British commissioners were Admiral Gambier, a man unacquainted with diplomacy and unlearned in statecraft, whose appointment had

surprised London; Henry Goulburn, a young man, whose highest previous post had been that of an under secretary; and William Adams, noted neither before nor after the treaty. The British, through Goulburn, presented their demands. They were, in brief, as follows: first, that the United States should make peace with the Indian allies of Great Britain, and should, with the coöperation of Great Britain, set off a neutral and inviolable zone of Indian lands, to separate, throughout their length, the possessions of the contracting parties. Secondly, that no naval force should be kept by the United States on the Great Lakes; that the United States should build no new forts on them, and cease to maintain existing forts, and regard the southern shore of the Lakes as the Canadian boundary. Thirdly, that a portion of Maine should be ceded to Great Britain. Fourthly, that the right of free navigation of the Mississippi should be allowed to the British. These demands were indignantly refused by the surprised Americans. That relating to the Indian neutral zone was refused consideration. Acrimonious discussion resulted in the withdrawal of the obnoxious proposals. Yet the British commissioners proved so exacting and dilatory that the American people were profoundly stirred.

The legislature of New York expressed a common feeling when it resolved that the terms proposed by Great Britain were "extravagant and disgraceful," and the legislature of Virginia paralleled this in its declaration that they were "arrogant and insulting." Both bodies voted an increase of State troops, to be under the control and pay of the government. It was evident that Great Britain, with her hands free from Napoleon, was about to push the struggle to her advantage both by land and water. Rumors of a great expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi added to the general uneasiness. To meet the perils which thickened, the administration had thirty-two thousand regular troops, the six months' militia, and such others as the large bounty tempted to enlist. But the States were beginning to bestir themselves and increase their contingents, not in all cases

mingling State pride with distrust of the government, like Massachusetts, but as in New York, which at a special session of the legislature in 1814, after the destruction of Washington, passed a bill providing for the raising of a force of twelve thousand men for the defence of the frontier; and this, too, despite the decision of Chancellor Kent that the conscription was against the spirit of the Constitution. Massachusetts voted to enlist ten thousand men for a year and to borrow one million dollars for the purposes of the war. Maryland raised five thousand, and State brigades were raised in Virginia and South Carolina.

The attitude of the several States accorded well with the firmness of the American commissioners, although the action provoked by the unreasonable demands of Great Britain was, because of lack of rapid communication, unknown to them when they received the amended proposals from the British representatives. The new demands were not less exasperating than the former. The note which Adams, assisted by his friends, drew up in reply was worthy of the best of its kind. On the very day of the burning of their capital they gave their reply to the British authorities. Negotiations fell through. Their rejection of the British ultimatum brought another proposal, in which the whole matter of the Indians was dropped—a distinct gain for the Americans. Successes on the border buttressed the second refusal of the American commissioners. The very day the news of the victory of Macdonough on Lake Champlain reached Ghent they claimed, with elation, that the basis of the treaty should be the *status ante bellum*, and not, as Britain demanded, the *status uti possidetis*—not the state of present possession, but as it was before the war. The Britons were stunned.

At this point a dispute arose in the circle of the American peacemakers. John Adams had saved the northeast fisheries in the treaty of 1783. His son would not now sign a treaty which surrendered that right. On the other hand, Henry Clay, speaking for the West, was bent on preventing

the British from the free use of the Mississippi. The ability and patience of Gallatin were now used to advantage. He persuaded the stubborn Adams and the imperious Clay that the fisheries and the river might offset each other. The article in dispute was finally omitted from the treaty, and on December 24th the commissioners signed the treaty of peace. It provided for a cessation of hostilities; for exchange of prisoners; for definition of boundaries by duly appointed boards; for joint efforts to stop the slave trade; but it made no reference to the causes of the war. What Clay's feelings were when he signed articles that ignored impressment may be left to the imagination. Both sides made sacrifices, perhaps the Americans the greater at the time. Not only did the treaty make no reference to impressment, but the infringement of neutral rights by the Orders and Decrees received no mention in the treaty, nor did it receive final settlement until the treaty between the United States and Great Britain in 1863, with modification in 1871, upon the subject of naturalization. The signal ability with which the American commissioners brought their task, a difficult one, to a successful issue appears at every step in the negotiations.

On Saturday, February 11, 1815, late at night, two messengers reached New York with the news of the signature of the Treaty of Ghent. On the same day, *Niles's Register* was for the first time giving out "Glorious from New Orleans!" No such Sunday morning had dawned upon the country for a generation. Boston got word from New York by Monday morning. Everywhere was relief, exultation, pride, and the vision of a united people. Vessels that were rotting in harbors got out their flags, and before Monday night ship carpenters were busy, and newly hired crews were beginning to stow away cargoes. "Peace" was all that the people knew, but that was enough. Yet neither in the United States nor in Britain was there entire satisfaction with a stopping of strife. In his diary of March 1st, Amos Kendall writes of the "discontented few who damped

the ardor of the most." The London *Globe* of December 27th characterized the peace as a "miserable finale" to a war in which the Americans were to be "confoundedly well flogged." The *Times* of the 29th felt the humiliation of the terms of peace, and said: "It is inconsistent with common sense to deny that our naval reputation has been blasted in this short but disastrous war."

The war began with American naval victories; its close was marked by a notable defeat of the British on land. To attempt the conquest of Louisiana and the capture of New Orleans, Admiral Cochrane sailed with a large fleet of war vessels, having under their convoy troopships bearing nearly ten thousand of Wellington's veterans, commanded by the brother-in-law of Wellington, Sir Edward Pakenham.

On May 31, 1814, Andrew Jackson was appointed major-general and assigned to the command of the Army of the South. In August, he occupied Mobile and garrisoned Fort Boyer, on Mobile Point. On September 13th, the fort was vigorously attacked by land and sea by the British. On the 15th, the battle was fought and the British were utterly defeated.

Jackson next marched against Pensacola, which the British, though the town was in Spanish territory, had made a base of operations against the United States. He reached Pensacola on November 5th, captured the town on the 7th, and by the 11th was back at Mobile. Here news of the British movement against New Orleans reached him; and being reinforced by General Coffee with twenty-eight hundred men, he was ready to march to the defence of the threatened city. His total force consisted of about four thousand men, of whom but one thousand were regulars.

Intelligence of the proposed attack had been carried to the city. Governor W. C. Claiborne ordered the militia to be ready to answer a call to arms. Edward Livingston, the chairman of a hastily organized committee of defence, made such preparations for resistance as were possible. Immediately upon General Jackson's arrival on December 3, 1814,

the city took new courage. Jackson organized its feeble forces, provided for obstructing the navigable bayous communicating with the Gulf and for strengthening Fort St. Philip, lying nearly two-thirds of the way down to the mouth of the river. The British, thinking to effect a more expeditious passage to the east bank of the river just below the city, adopted the plan of going through Lake Borgne and thence by the sluggish waters of the bayou. Brushing aside five American gunboats at the east entrance of the bayou, the advance guard of the British, two thousand strong, came through Villeré Canal and camped on the river bank, nine miles below New Orleans. Jackson was not the man to let them rest and wait for reinforcements. Aided by a flank fire from one of the two vessels he had in the stream, he broke up the camp on the 23d of December. Then began a hurried, and, as it proved, a successful, measure of defensive warfare. All the day before Christmas, the soldiers of Jackson busied themselves in casting up intrenchments along the line of a canal that ran from the river to the cypress swamp a mile and over from the river's bank. By sunset they had raised a breastwork, not of cotton bales, as commonly told, save possibly at the extreme western redoubt, but of earth three feet high, stiffened by palings and logs, behind which the army rested for the night, tired but expectant.

Sir Edward Pakenham arrived at the British camp on the morning of Christmas day. His army then numbered five thousand. It was increased by January 6th to an aggregate of six thousand five hundred Europeans, besides two regiments of West India black troops. The navy added one thousand two hundred marines. The British succeeded in destroying the *Carolina* with red-hot shot, leaving Jackson with only the *Louisiana* to guard the passage of the river. On December 28th, Pakenham gave the order to advance, but to his surprise he found, after marching three miles, a stiff parapet behind which lay three thousand men, nearly all marksmen. At intervals on the breastwork were a dozen

guns, and the whole line was supported by the corvette in the river. The chances for storming were decidedly unpromising. On January 1st he faced the Americans and began to play on their lines with thirty guns, but to the mortification of the British they had to give way before their superiors in gunnery. It surpassed the fire of the British "both in rapidity and precision," and for their defeat no excuse was even suggested by British authorities.

After another week, both sides gained by reinforcements, and Jackson had three thousand two hundred behind the redoubt. The final attack on the 8th of January was to combine both a forward and a flank movement. Colonel Thornton was to cross the river during the night of the 7th and there to give the signal for attack on the east bank by his fire in dislodging a force of Americans under General David Morgan. Thornton met with delay in crossing the river in a fog, and not hearing the expected signal guns, Pakenham ordered the advance. The fog lifted and the solid red line was seen coming forward at double quick. "Suddenly," wrote a British eyewitness, "a regular lane was cut from front to rear of the column." A thirty-two pounder, loaded to the muzzle with musket balls, swept the centre of the attacking body quite away. Yet in true British fashion they came on. Within twenty yards of the glacis General Gibbs fell. Pakenham rode forward to rally the shattered columns and was mortally wounded. On the left wing of Jackson's line was Coffee's brigade of eight hundred men; in his centre, Carroll's sharpshooters; and on the right, holding the river, were the regulars, who stood their ground unmoved by the fierce thrust of the enemy. The whole front was a sheet of flame, and before it the Peninsular veterans withered, broke, and fell back. The four ranks of Tennesseans and Kentuckians on the left near the swamp met the British in their own fashion. As the heavy red line rushed up, one line of marksmen rose and delivered a volley and fell back. Their places were taken by the second line, a volley fired, their places filled by the

third, and theirs in turn by the fourth. Not a second was lost. Awful gaps opened in the British ranks. The fascines and scaling ladders failed in their expected service. The Ninety-third Highlanders moved up to meet the tempest from the rifles of Carroll and Coffee, but their fate was told at the end of the day when out of nine hundred brave and seasoned soldiers only one hundred and thirty-nine could be mustered. Skeleton companies were left to mourn such losses as they had never known before. General Keane was shot through the neck and carried off the field. The highest officer still in the saddle was a Major Wilkinson, and he fell in a final attempt to lead his men over the breastworks. The whole affair was over in an hour and a quarter. Lambert, the fourth major-general with the reserves, recalled Thornton from the west bank of the river where he had won a victory over Morgan's force, but not before he had lost more than did the Americans whom he drove back. In the action of the 8th of January on the east side of the river the loss of the British amounted to over two thousand, and for the whole day's conflict over twenty-five hundred. Jackson had six men killed and seven wounded under his immediate command, and lost all told in killed, wounded, and missing only seventy-one. Ten days later the entire British force quietly withdrew. On their way eastward they stopped long enough to force the surrender of Mobile, which capitulated February 12th.

The battle of New Orleans was followed by a tremendous revulsion of feeling. The spirit of the people was well shown in the press. In *Niles's Register* of February 18, 1815, we read: "Who would not be an American? Long live the republic! All hail! last asylum of oppressed humanity! Peace is signed in the arms of victory!"

To say that nothing was accomplished by the heroic defence of the gateway of the South is to miss the point. The recovery of the nation's confidence in its men was great gain. The prestige of beating off the flower of the British army was worth the effort and the loss of life.

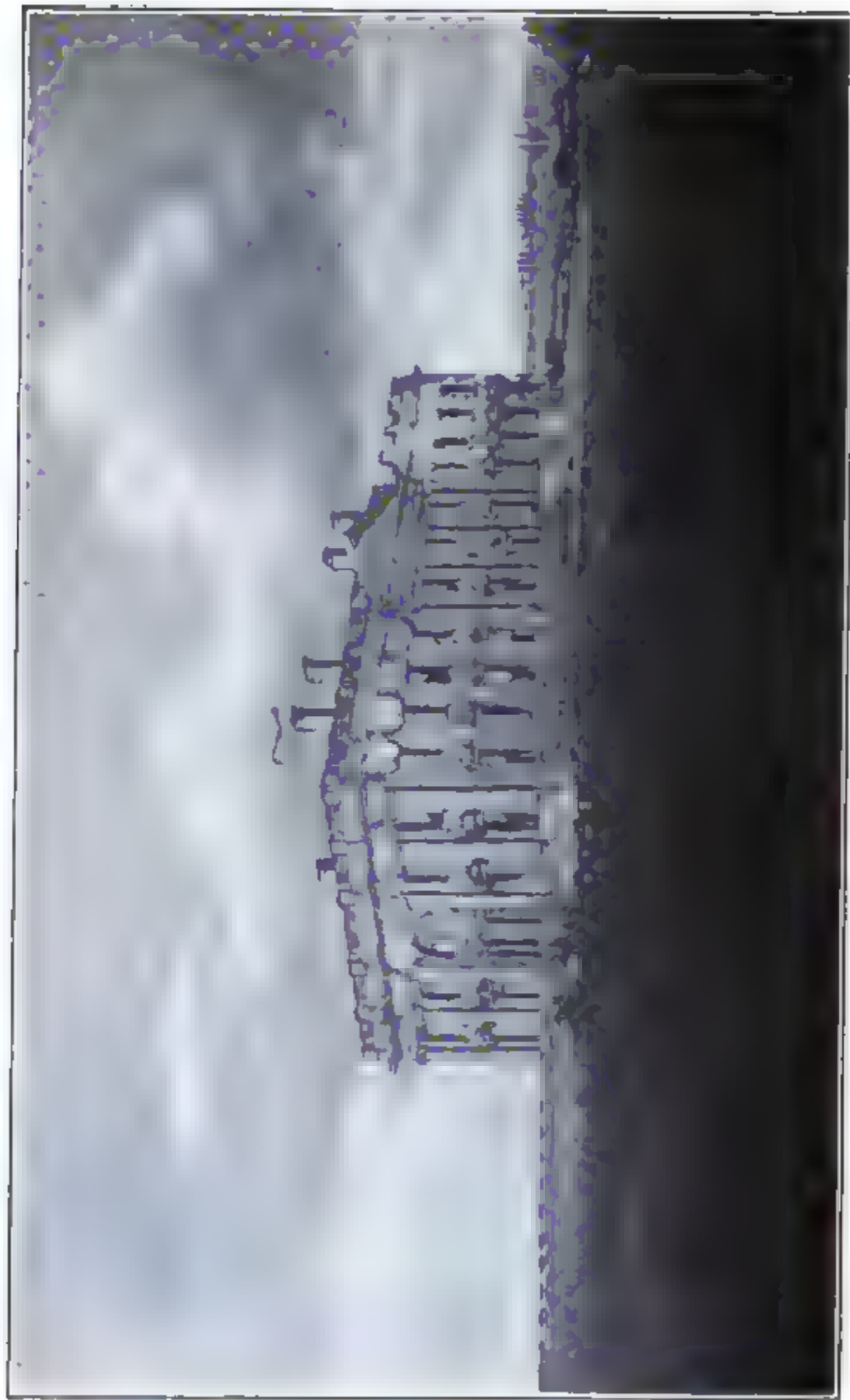
True, peace had been signed at Ghent, and the battle was not needed, but had Jackson not won against Pakenham the British would not have been so entirely convinced that the peace was wise. The war came to its end with the feeling that what Britain had not openly recognized in the matter of impressment was not now needed since the issue of New Orleans showed to the world that the young nation was able to defy any people who might be inclined to impress her sailors.

Unhappily, the war left in its trail the memory of an incident which greatly exasperated the American people. At Dartmoor, a desolate spot in Devonshire, there were confined about six thousand American prisoners, under control of Captain T. G. Shortland. It was not until March, 1815, that the prisoners were permitted to know of the treaty of peace, and this delay, along with harsh treatment in the past, bred deep discontent among the prisoners. Impatience ran into insubordination, and on the 6th of April some of the men refused to retire to their quarters when ordered to do so, and were fired upon by command of Captain Shortland. Five were killed and thirty-three wounded. Though the British press called it "justifiable homicide," in America it was regarded as a massacre.

The total result of the war, rashly but justly begun, was, first, a new respect in foreign eyes. Even if the late minister to America, Foster, did say in Parliament on February 18, 1813, "that generally speaking, they were not a people we should be proud to acknowledge as our relatives," yet, after the strife was over, Great Britain discovered that the young nation was not to be held in scorn, especially on the sea. Nor was this all. If the respect of Britain was still lacking, America learned to respect herself. The day was forever gone by with the surrender of the *Macedonian* and the defeat of Pakenham when the old idea could any longer fairly prevail of the dependence of America upon Great Britain, an idea to which Lord Liverpool gave expression when, in his discussion of the war, in speaking of the

United States, he declared on the floor of Parliament: "She ought to have looked to this country as the guardian power to which she was indebted, not only for her comforts, not only for her rank in the scale of civilization, but for her very existence."

This was an impression difficult to eradicate from the brave old motherland's stock of traditions, and it took not only the generous praise of Barré, who lauded the "Sons of Liberty" in the days of the first War of Independence, and the sympathy for their kin over the sea from Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Samuel Whitbread on the same floor as Canning in 1813, but also the unparalleled gunnery and the matchless seamanship of Hull, and not less, too, the marksmanship of the Southern militia and the leadership of Jackson at Chalmette, to add to her pride in herself new pride in her free children.



A view of the President's House in the city of Washington, after the conflagration of August 24, 1814.

From the engraving by W. Strickland.

CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT TO 1820

AT the close of the War of 1812 each of the two contestants was weary of the struggle and anxious for peace. Great Britain had been doubly burdened, her continental operations requiring millions of dollars and thousands of men. Her military activity virtually at an end, she fell into alternate quiet and disorder. St. Helena was not the panacea of Great Britain's ills. Napoleon was no more to heap up the taxes and consume the lives of Britons, but the story of the years immediately following Waterloo is not a pleasant one. Bad crops alternated with good, idle men coveted the situations of the employed or demanded public support, friction and bitter feeling increased between toiler and employer, and the farm arrayed itself against the factory. Great Britain was prosperous but not at peace with herself.

The United States came out of the war with the power of swift recuperation. The immediate effects of the conflict may have been disastrous to the border inhabitants, but to the larger populations living back from the scenes of strife there came only indirect damage. A trifling amount of property compared with the total wealth of the country had been destroyed. Chesapeake Bay had been raided, the Niagara frontier had suffered devastation, the blockade had been vigorously enforced north of the Chesapeake to Nantucket, and by September, 1814, all the coast from Eastport to New Orleans was in a state of blockade, and all Maine

east of the Penobscot had been invaded and annexed to New Brunswick. Following the capture of Nantucket came that of Castine. Towns along Cape Cod had to pay the British men-of-war to save their salt works from ruin. The fleet of Sir Thomas Hardy appeared off Stonington, August 9, 1814, and severely bombarded the town. The coast of Georgia was plundered. "Nevertheless, the harm done was small, for those regions were far from rich and populous, and did not contain a town of the first order. No large town, and no city of importance, save Washington, was ever in the hands of the British for one day." It is true that a war debt was laid upon the people, that money had been wasted, that there was bitter distress in a few quarters, and that there rankled the sting of the memory of mismanagement of national affairs. But there was no serious halt to national prosperity and the seeds of industrial growth had been laid in the red furrows of war. The ending of conflict brought new respect from abroad and the inspiring consciousness of a mighty energy which for the first time was free to expend itself in the development of a continental national life.

One foreign account remained to be settled. The Dey of Algiers had been sustained in his piratical warfare against the commerce of the United States by the assurances of Great Britain that the American fleet would be swept from the seas. Five days after the Treaty of Ghent was concluded, the president asked from Congress an immediate declaration of war. It was voted; and Decatur, with ten vessels, carrying two hundred and ten guns, put to sea on the 20th of May, 1815. Sailing past Gibraltar, he captured the forty-six-gun frigate *Mashouda* in the Mediterranean, and in the fearful slaughter from the fire of the American guns the Moorish admiral, Rais Hammida, the terror of the sea, was killed. On June 28th, the American squadron took a position before the strongly fortified city of Algiers. The agent of the dey begged for delay, but Decatur replied: "Not a minute! not a minute!" and the Moor was at once

eager to make terms. He was forced to pay for all damages done to American commerce by the Algerians, to release American captives, and to guarantee United States traders against all molestation in the future. Similar prompt and effective measures were used against Tunis and Tripoli, and without the payment of a dollar Decatur secured the release of Americans held as prisoners by the piratical States.

The seas were now open to trade and the hands of the young nation free for exploiting its own resources. That the country turned from the struggle with undisturbed faith in the future is evident from the various appropriations made by Congress. The war had ended with a new debt added to the old Revolutionary burden, the former amounting to thirty-nine million dollars and the latter to sixty-three million, with seventeen million of unfunded treasury notes. But provision was immediately made for arrears in the war department, amounting to nearly fourteen million dollars, a million to stock up the empty arsenals, another million annually for the new navy, which was to have added to its force twelve seventy-fours, twelve forty-fours, and four steam batteries; for fortifications, for repairing the capitol, for custom houses, and for prize money for the navy. Even in the days after the burning of Washington and the loss of the library, and amid the general discomfort of the attempt at regeneration, Congress had voted fifty thousand dollars for the library which Thomas Jefferson offered to sell to the government. The purchase was opposed by the Federalists and a few others on the ground of extravagance, as the government was bankrupt, and on the less sensible one that the collection contained many books not strictly tending to establish Christianity. The library was valuable, and became the foundation of the present Congressional Library.

The agitated condition of European life was reflected in the United States. Both the Old and the New Worlds rocked uneasily for half the decade after a generation of war. The eagerness of the people for trade amounted to a fever. From the close of the war to the year 1820 the

period was one of rather abnormal activity. As soon as trade could safely be resumed, every port woke to unexampled life. As March drew near, the streets filled with sailors and ships were loaded with cargoes. Huge fleets of merchantmen left the wharves followed by the shouts of a populace for whom war had no more perils or demands. But the fleets that departed were less than the fleets that arrived. The import outran the export trade. Great Britain had "smothered" the little navy in strife of arms, and now it appeared that a like process was about to extinguish the exports of America in time of peace. Nor were the Americans averse to taking all that came. A sort of trade delirium characterized the transfer of goods from British to American hands. Seaports swarmed with purchasers. The demand was so great that ordinary channels and usual methods of business were put aside and sellers hurried their cargoes to the auction block and reaped immense gains. In one week at Philadelphia British goods brought at auction over four hundred and sixty thousand dollars. In the three months after March the custom house duties at New York amounted to nearly four million dollars. On one day in November, twenty square-rigged ships came up the harbor together. In the *Charleston Courier* only two and a half columns were filled with news, and all the others were crammed with advertisements of sales and auctions of British cargoes. New Orleans was likened to ancient Alexandria for its wonderful prosperity.

Yet not all sections or all classes prospered equally. Those who profited by the vast importations were the State and national governments, and the British makers and sellers of goods. The sufferers were the American manufacturers and merchants. But as a system of credit followed in the summer the earlier demand for cash for goods delivered, there was not much complaint. The year after the war, exports rose to fifty-three million dollars, nearly eightfold what they had been previously; imports to one hundred and thirteen million dollars, over eightfold, and duties to

thirty-eight million dollars, nearly tenfold. There was no lack of funds so far as the government was concerned. The South reaped the largest portion of the flood of wealth that poured in at the rate of six or seven millions a month. The chief exports of this section, cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice, were almost a natural monopoly. The Middle States raised wheat and corn, which were in large demand. New England, however, was not prosperous; she produced little, her former shipping advantages suffered from the competition of foreign vessels, and in addition she was threatened with the loss of her industrial supremacy. But if Massachusetts made complaint, the Republican editors had only to urge her to call another convention like the ill-fated one at Hartford. The total tonnage of New England in 1816 was less than in 1810. Fisheries had dropped from over three million dollars in 1806 to less than two hundred thousand in 1814. Nor did the cessation of strife cure the ill at once. There was a constant diminution of the amount of duties on merchandise imported in American vessels from the West Indies and North American colonial possessions of Great Britain, while British vessels carried to American ports free of duty five times more goods native to or made in the United States than did American ships.

An effort was made in the commercial convention held in London in 1815 to abolish all discriminating duties. A commercial treaty was signed July 3, 1815, that lasted four years. Great Britain secured for her colonial possessions peculiar favors. The treaty was unsatisfactory in its results. The fishing interests of New England were particularly opposed to it. As the treaty had not mentioned the fisheries, the colonists said that New England fishermen had lost their right to fish in British waters. Americans were therefore warned to keep off the fishing banks claimed by the British. One ship was seized, and released after the British captain had written across her papers the warning not to come within a distance of sixty miles of the banks. This act was afterward disavowed. Better results followed the Act of 1818,

which refused particular commercial favors to Great Britain because she discriminated against the United States. France was unwilling to consent to trade relations with the United States on equal terms. Fears were entertained that American energy would engross the carrying trade. France desired to bring home the products of America in her own ships, and she placed high duties on cotton brought in American vessels, and these impositions, added to the extortionate charges of French merchandise brokers, gave her a pronounced advantage. It was an odd situation that put the swift American traders that had carried goods for all Europe for twenty-five years at a disadvantage in the trade with France whose ships, before 1815, had been as scarce in western waters as Asiatic junks. From 1816 to 1819 French tonnage engaged in American trade increased over threefold, while that of America engaged in the French trade dropped to nearly one-half. So until 1820 the word for Americans was not reciprocity, but retaliation. At that date a new rate of tonnage was fixed for French vessels which equalized the conditions of trade.

That war should obstruct the prosperity of the shipping interests was to be expected, but that peace should threaten the life of the domestic manufactures which had found even in war a rough nurse and had after a fashion thrived under its protection, was indeed serious enough for notice on the part of the president. It was highly significant, too, that Madison, who had in the days of Washington's presidency led in opposition to protection, and who had lately found in the South his chief support, now declared, in his message of 1815: "It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures when the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and insure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded." He was in this statement reflecting a common feeling of the country which demanded entire separation from Europe, and wished to make a protectionist policy

another form of its new declaration of independence. History was too strong for the old Jeffersonian theory of making expenses the measure of taxes, and under the pressure of manufacturers Congressmen voted protection of American-made goods. The tariff bill of February, 1816, was prepared by Mr. Dallas and supported by Lowndes, Calhoun, and especially by Clay, and though opposed by Randolph and Webster, it became an act imposing duties running from twenty to thirty-five per cent on imports. The chief arguments for protection in 1816 were that it would secure for the American government and people supplies for life and defence, that it would favor the agricultural classes and furnish materials for the factory, and that as the exigencies of war had brought into existence manufactures which had supplied the people with life's necessities they ought not to be left to perish with the return of peace. It was not expected that a protective tariff would become permanent, for it was believed that in a few years the nation could bid defiance to the world.

It was not in the unconscious stirring of mighty energies that the Americans turned to manufactures. Nor were they alone in their discovery of possible freedom from European commercial restraints. What they saw they could do, foreigners saw also. Even prior to the settling down of the country to the calm of peace, William Cobbett predicted that the war would "render the United States independent of England for manufactures; or at least enable her to dispense with English manufactures." In a few years he noted how his prophecy had been fulfilled. Even men so given to exalting the place of the farmer as was Jefferson, as one may see in his *Notes on Virginia*, grew half enthusiastic over the prospect of becoming independent of Great Britain. He had once said that "the workshops of Europe are the most proper to furnish the supplies of manufactures to the United States." He said after the war: "He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures must be for reducing us to a dependence upon foreign nations. I am

not one of those. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist."

The original Republican doctrine found its chief exponent in John Randolph. His protest is memorable as containing the later argument against the tariff: "Upon whom bears the duty on coarse woollens and linens and blankets, upon salt and all the necessities of life? Upon poor men and upon slaveholders." But Lowndes, who presented the bill, voiced the opinion of a large part of the South as having a special interest in building up domestic cotton culture,—necessary because Great Britain imposed a heavy duty on the raw material. It is interesting to note how economic pressure makes companions of early theory and late fact. Federalists forgot the great report of Hamilton, while Democrats gave it circulation by means of the newspapers. The Dallas Act was passed April 27, 1816, and remained without material change till 1824. The lowest *ad valorem* duty was upon dyeing drugs, jewelry, and laces; the next highest was fifteen per cent upon gold leaf; twenty per cent upon various articles like hempen cloth, brass, iron, and china-ware; twenty-five per cent on woollen goods of all descriptions, until June 30, 1819; similar rates upon cotton goods for three years; and thirty per cent upon a miscellaneous lot of luxuries. The contrast of needed protection between the woollen and the cotton manufactures is seen in the following figures. The woollen manufacturers reported in 1816 an investment of twelve million dollars, while capital invested in the cotton manufacturing industry reached the high figure of forty million dollars, and the business engaged one hundred thousand operatives.

The protective tariff of 1816 gave some relief to manufacturers, but it did not preserve the cotton industry from the depression consequent upon the inability of American invention to keep up with that of foreigners. The extraordinary changes in European life after Waterloo by which labor fell in value, and importers of goods to America could afford to undersell native producers, told heavily upon the

American factory. Enormous amounts of British goods were sold at auction and manufacturers were in desperate straits until the close of the second decade. Added to this form of distress was that of a disordered currency, and business did not revive until after the gloomy days of 1819. It was not until 1821 that cotton making had fully recovered. Many New England villages date their growth and some their founding from this period. The insight and skill of the Yankee inventor were to prove far more serviceable to the country than any legislation of Congress. By 1824 cotton manufacture was firmly established, and there was little need of any further application of protective statutes. But for the time tariff legislation gave swifter aid than invention to American manufactures.

The first great triumphs of American genius had less to do with spinning and weaving than with the problems of transportation. The work of James Watt was quickly appreciated in the western world. As early as 1789, an uneducated and poor but skilful mechanic of Philadelphia, John Fitch, succeeded in making a boat go against tide and wind by using engine and paddles. He went further, and found the secret of moving another boat by a screw propeller. But he was far ahead of his day, and the very persons who were to profit by his ideas were sceptical of his experiment. In the same city there toiled a still more ingenious man, Oliver Evans, but even he, with somewhat more influence, failed to command the confidence of the public. It was not till Fulton and Livingston, with ampler fortunes and social backing, translated experiment into achievement that the travelling public, at first fearful of trusting themselves to the frail and wheezy crafts going without sails, finally took passage without qualm for distant ports. In 1802, Latrobe, at that time the most eminent engineer in America, published his reasons for disinclination to adopt the locomotive steam engine: the weight, the space taken up, the tendency of the vessel to spring leaks, the expense, the irregularity of motion in rough water, and

the liability of the paddles to break. In 1803 there were five stationary engines in the United States. By 1813, New York had nine steamboats. This gave it superior transportation facilities. By 1816, this city was distant from Philadelphia but thirteen hours, and only thirty from Montreal. By 1819, sixty-three steamers were plying upon the western waters. Of these craft, fifty-six were built on the Ohio, four at New Orleans, and one each at Philadelphia, New York, and Providence. The Ohio and the Mississippi below Cairo had steamboats some time before the traders of the upper Mississippi and the Missouri believed it possible, on account of the swiftness of the currents, to drive a boat by steam up the river. The first steamboat to reach St. Louis was the *General Pike*, on August 2, 1817.

It was not for several years that the old-fashioned flatboat surrendered to the new master. In 1817, fifteen hundred flatboats and five hundred barges were tied to the levee of New Orleans. In 1821, the annals of the city reveal the arrival of four hundred and forty-one flatboats and one hundred and seventy-four barges. The end was drawing near. Nearly one hundred steamboats were now plying on the Mississippi and its tributaries.

The steamboat was not long in appearing on the Great Lakes. In 1818, the famous *Walk-in-the-Water* began to make the trip from Buffalo to Detroit. She had a smokestack after the fashion of a half-dozen lengths of stovepipe, and at her sides huge wheels without covers, and no pilot house. She could carry fifty passengers, and the charge for each one for the voyage was eighteen dollars. Her loss after four years was declared an irreparable calamity, fated to check immigration and civilization; but the concern of Michigan alarmists was soon quieted when in 1827 another steamboat was placed in commission. This craft was the first to reach the Sault Ste. Marie, but made no effort to enter the great upper lake. The incredible marvels of the traffic that was to issue from Lake Superior not even the apostle of internal improvement, Henry Clay, could

imagine. Where now a ton of ore is carried twenty miles for a cent, freight rates for a barrel of flour, at the close of the period included within the limits of this volume, between Detroit and Cleveland were thirty cents, and for grain ten cents a bushel.

Never did an invention make itself so immediately felt in the civilization of a mighty country as did the steamboat in peopling and developing the country tributary to the Ohio and the Mississippi. Immigrants pushed to the West with increasing haste and in swelling numbers. The settlement of the middle West lies in the story of its lakes and rivers. Long before serviceable roads were or could be constructed, the immigrants availed themselves of the water-courses to reach the interior of the new country.

In the six years following the War of 1812, six new States were added to the Union, and only one of the six was in the East. In no other six years of our history have new States been so rapidly and so regularly created. Indiana was admitted in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821. Not for fifteen years was another State able to claim a place in the giant sisterhood. He reads the history of his country to poor advantage who cannot see in this rush of population that J. K. Paulding, writing in 1816, spoke the soberest of truths when he declared: "It seems the destiny of this country that power should travel to the West." The East was not without its attractions, but the future of the people free from war with a foreign foe had to do with the West, and thither they bent their steps. For two decades they had tried to wrench themselves loose from the tangle of European strife. When once free they naturally bent their gaze and their energy the other way. The West did not at once harmonize with the East. It was too rough, it had not yet been rubbed into smoothness. The West did not chicane; it was too direct. It cared less for a way of doing a thing than for getting it done. Diplomacy was not its strength. It looked straight over a rifle barrel before it

quibbled on paper. Its democracy was instinctive. Its trend toward nationality was largely due to the fact that it had forced the war, and that when the war ended the nation was led to think after the fashion of the new populations.

In general, the Western people were sanguine, self-confident, even boastful. They had no literature, no art, few scholars, fewer libraries, no State church, no patronage from authority, little or no capital, and nature for the field of their efforts and sometimes for their foe; yet, matching the difficulties of their advance with an equal will, they staked all upon the venture and won. The children of pioneers have the least obstacle in the way of their advancement. Caste and convention and the barriers which existed in the older world or in the older settlements—these had small place in the new States, where the individualism of the new-comer found an attractive field, and his children drank in, with even greater zest than the parents, the atmosphere of the unconventional society in which initiative and personal vigor were at a high premium.

The notion that the immigrants into the West were a thriftless and inefficient swarm without aim or ideas is well disposed of by Professor N. S. Shaler: "If they had been deliberately selected by some wise statesman for their peculiar task the choice could not have been better fitted to the end in view. The men who made these western settlements had for a century and a half been in training for such arduous work. They and their ancestors had learned to fight in their struggles with the Indians, the French, and the British; they had, moreover, acquired the more precious education of a political sort which enabled them to act together in organizing and defending their societies. They were not only war-proof, but trained in the founding of States and in the maintenance of civilization."

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century the Union nearly doubled its population, and reached the high total in 1820 of nine million six hundred and thirty-four thousand. New York and Philadelphia had about the same

population in 1810, one hundred thousand each, but by 1820 New York reached one hundred and twenty-five thousand, leaving Philadelphia more than ten thousand behind. In 1810, Boston and Baltimore were about equal in population, but in 1820, the former had forty-three thousand and the latter sixty-three thousand. Charleston had only eighty more in 1820 than in 1810. The western towns from Pittsburg to New Orleans grew rapidly and steadily, but none of them had gained any important rank by 1820. The five New England States and the two Southern States, Virginia and North Carolina united, had stood at an equality in 1810 and contained over one-third of the total population of the country; but in 1820, they had been outstripped by the middle group, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, while proportionally the Western States, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, grew faster than all others.

The population doubled in twenty-three years, but the wealth of the country doubled in twenty years. The banking capital of New York in 1800 was scarcely over three million dollars; by 1816 it had risen to nineteen million. Virginia, with a white population showing a gain of nineteen per cent in sixteen years, nearly doubled its wealth. Timothy Pitkin's estimates show a greater increase of wealth in Virginia than in Massachusetts.

A significant means for forming an estimate of the increase of wealth may be found in the extension of the postal service. In 1801, there were nine hundred and fifty-seven post offices. In 1817, there were three thousand four hundred and fifty-nine. In 1801, the total length of post roads was less than twenty-five thousand miles. In 1817, the total amounted to over fifty-two thousand miles. In seventeen years the government receipts had risen to over a million dollars, more than threefold, outrunning the wonderful growth of population.

The new impetus now felt in the financial life of the nation turned the attention of the legislators to the question of the revival of the old Bank. As early as January, 1814,

a petition signed by one hundred and fifty citizens of New York had been presented in the House of Representatives asking for a national bank with a capital of thirty million dollars. But efforts made in Congress to create such a bank fell through. On December 24, 1815, Dallas brought forward a plan for a national bank. Its life was to be for twenty years, its capital to be thirty-five million dollars, seven million of which were to be taken by the government. It was to be located in Philadelphia, was to pay specie at all times, and might establish branch banks or use State banks as branches. The debate revealed interesting changes of opinion. Clay gave the plan his support, giving two reasons for his new view. In 1811, he had voted against rechartering the old Bank because so instructed by his State, and he did not consider the Bank necessary. The State banks seemed to him sufficient. Now, a national bank appeared to him indispensable. Calhoun strongly favored the plan, and open opposition to the Bank in the Republican ranks practically disappeared, but Webster opposed its establishment. His influence resulted in the proposal of some modifications. These became the basis of a compromise plan which seemed for a while to be about to be carried through. In the end it failed and the Republicans refused to yield an iota in regard to items that the Federalists considered vital. The bill finally passed by a large majority, was signed by the president April 10, 1816, and the Republican party harked back to the system of Hamilton.

One signal point of difference between the new Bank and the old was that five of the twenty-five directors were to be appointed by the president of the United States, whereas all had before been chosen by the stockholders. The new Bank was to be the depository of the public funds unless the secretary of the treasury, for reasons to be laid before Congress, should otherwise decide. Subscription books were opened July, 1816, and at the end of twenty days were closed, at which time only three millions of stock were left unsold. These were immediately taken by Stephen Girard,

of Philadelphia. In all there were slightly over thirty-one thousand subscribers, of whom Baltimore furnished nearly one-half, New York nearly three thousand, and New England three thousand, while nine millions of the stock were taken up by Philadelphia, including Girard's subscription. The Bank began business January 1, 1817, with the date of March 3, 1836 set for the expiration of its charter. It was the purpose of the president to make the Bank a Republican institution, and to this end he appointed five directors from his party. The stockholders named ten from each of the two parties.

During the year 1816 prosperity flowed unchecked, but the reaction soon came. Land speculation in the West and the craze for laying out town lots brought a natural result. Nearly everybody was in debt. The call in 1819, the year of extreme depression, for settlement of notes due to the branches of the United States Bank and the stringency in the Eastern money market prevented the immigrants from selling their lands; so hopeless bankruptcy was the lot of thousands. There was rude plenty, but no market for farm products. Taxes remained unpaid; farms were forfeited. The government came to the relief with a system which authorized purchasers in arrears "to secure a portion of their lands by relinquishing the remainder to the government." In 1820, Missouri passed stay laws and tried to pay its debts with worthless securities. For the time, business was woe-fully disarranged in the West, perhaps nowhere worse than in Missouri, though commercial affairs in Kentucky were thoroughly disorganized.

After the War of 1812, a suspension of specie payments by the Bank of Kentucky temporarily ruined its credit. Interference on the part of the legislature introduced an era of wretched finance. The capital stock of the bank was increased to three millions; and in 1815, to support the face value of its currency, the legislature passed a law by which any debtor was enabled to delay payment of his debt for a year, if his creditors refused to take their payment in notes of the weakened bank. The effect upon business was

disastrous, and upon politics most agitating. Parties were divided as well as traders bankrupted. The story of the next few years is a dreary one. Popular discontent swelled to a storm over the decision of the Court of Appeals against the constitutionality of the replevin feature of the "stay laws." At Frankfort, in 1829, notes of the Bank of the Commonwealth to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars were publicly burned.

The first half of the century was notorious for fiat money and its dupes. The magic power of law to create money was heralded from seaboard to frontier. At the time of the expiration of the charter of the *old* Bank in 1811, there were eighty-eight banks in the United States; by 1813 this number had risen to two hundred and eight. These had the right to issue banknotes. Specie was flowing in a steady stream to New England, for specie alone would her manufacturers and merchants accept in payment for merchandise. The banks of the Middle and Southern States were in a desperate state. The lack of a circulating medium was followed by different rates of exchange in different States. There were many kinds of money, but rarely was a coin of the United States seen. Small notes and bills, issued by corporations, with a local circulation, and certain foreign coins with legal tender values, made up the circulation. The mint, the first edifice of the Federal government, had been erected in 1792 at Philadelphia, and began the coinage of silver half-dimes. Soon larger denominations were issued. A proclamation of the president declared that on October 15, 1797, all foreign silver coins except the Spanish milled dollar, should cease to be legal tender for debts. A like proclamation announced that in July, 1798, no foreign gold pieces should be taken into our circulation. When the time came the coins of the United States were almost impossible to find. The worn and clipped coins of other countries had driven out the new and full-weight American currency. It had been profitable to export them. Nor did the suspension of the law excluding foreign coins, in 1798,



Louisa Catharine Adams. *From the engraving by G. F. Storm, after the painting by C. R. Leslie, R. A.*

check the exportation of American coins. From 1805 to 1836 not a dollar was struck. Between 1797 and 1803, and between 1807 and 1815, no quarters were struck, and no half-dimes after 1805. Half-dollars and half-eagles were the commonest of our coins. To the evils of a debased currency were added the successful practices of counterfeiters, who from their retreats in sequestered valleys of the Mississippi dispersed their false money throughout the Union.

An administration man, William Jones, lately secretary of the navy and *pro tempore* secretary of the treasury, was made president of the Bank. Hurried by Dallas the Bank began its work January, 1817, with a pitifully small amount of specie, which at no time during the first two years reached the sum of three millions. Its system of loans was objectionable. Its Western and Southern offices were allowed too large latitude in fixing the rate of discount; their capitals were not fixed, and the attempt to make each branch profitable led the weakest bank in the West to pile up risky loans with all the freedom of the most solid bank in Boston. By July, 1818, the central board woke to a sense of the perils that faced the institution. They found the currency inflated and the State banks overtrading. The Bank had to import specie, not being able to keep what it had, and being unable to draw from the banks. It bought high in Europe and sold low in the United States.

Speculation throughout the country accented the mismanagement of the Bank. Charters were freely given for State banks from 1815 to 1818. Niles wrote: "Wherever there is a church, a blacksmith's shop and a tavern, seems a proper site for one of them." Fraud increased the general confusion. In Philadelphia and Baltimore the passion for stock gambling reached its utmost craze. A clique of stockholders in these two cities controlled the Bank upon its organization, and Jones either was unable to restrain them or was blind to their schemes. These men manipulated the stock, borrowing money on what they already held, and lending themselves money without proper security. The

panic came in the autumn of 1818. In January, Jones resigned. When on the 19th of February the order was issued for a specific account to be rendered by the Baltimore branch of loans at the office made on Bank stock security, concealment no longer availed. When the crash came, the parties to the fraud fell short of paying their debts by the amount of one million four hundred thousand dollars. In the effort to save the Bank, no order was so loud a tale-bearer of the Bank's woes as that which forbade its various branch offices to accept the notes of any bank not redeeming its issue in specie. In the effort to reduce its debts, the Bank grew weaker and not stronger.

Congress made an investigation in January, 1819, which showed such a combination of weakness and misconduct that the popular distrust rested upon the Bank until the day of the expiration of the charter. The salvation of the Bank was the ruin of the people. The western cities had borrowed from it beyond their ability to pay. When the Bank pressed the State banks for payment of loans on redemption of notes they suspended, and in their fall they pulled down thousands of debtors. The citizens of Ohio in their indignation declared the action of the Bank "diabolically oppressive." This was also the attitude of other debtor States. Indiana in its earliest constitution, adopted in 1816, prohibited the founding of any bank chartered without the State. Various States heaped heavy taxes upon the branches of the Bank, Kentucky, the largest amount of all, compelling each of them to pay a tax of six thousand dollars annually. The Supreme Court's decisions declaring such acts unconstitutional acted as the last support of the battered foundations of the national Bank.

On the retirement of Jones, Langdon Cheves was chosen president, and he surrendered his seat in Congress to reform the finances of the nation. He possessed the requisite qualities of firmness and decision, and under him the Bank weathered the storm. Expenses were reduced, new directors elected, incompetent officials weeded out, criminals

brought to trial, and a policy of restriction was inaugurated. By 1821, the capital of the Bank was reported once more entire. But under the effort of the new management to save the Bank State banks suffered, and many failed. The most dolorous condition existed throughout the country. The failures of 1819-1820 told the story of financial depression. To aggravate the situation the legislatures of Ohio, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri passed stay laws which relieved the debtor at the expense of the creditor, and instead of making it easy for the creditor to collect just debts, they made it disgracefully easy for the debtor to escape payment. Executions of judgments in favor of lenders were stayed by relief laws, which forbade the sale of real estate save at values set by the debtor's neighbors. The West and South were thrown into financial chaos, and their gloom was rivalled only by the indignant revilings of the people against the Bank as a "rapacious, greedy, oppressive, and destructive monopoly." Ohio was not even deterred by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, by which the Federal contention that the national Bank's offices were untaxable was upheld, and made a determined and even violent effort to collect the tax on the branches in Cincinnati and Chillicothe. The case reached the Circuit Court, which decided, and the decision was confirmed by the Supreme Court, that the money should be returned, and enjoined the collection of any further tax.

In 1823, Cheves resigned, but not before having accomplished needed reform in the national finances. Cheves's plan for a uniform currency gave the stability without which the country could never have had the marvellous prosperity of the next generation. The Bank's earlier policy was one of leniency toward the State banks. This led them to form careless habits, then to face inevitable failure, then to exhibit hate toward the national bank. Cheves corrected the method of dealing with the smaller banks, but could not erase the deep-set lines of antagonism with which many men viewed

the "monster." But the financial quicksand had after all a sound bottom, and the nation sank to a surer foundation, a safe basis of credit. The national government adopted a stringent policy of retrenchment. It put every office under sharp scrutiny; projects for coast defence were stopped; also the plan for an exploring expedition to the Yellowstone; the regular army was cut to six thousand men, and the appropriation for the navy was reduced to five hundred thousand dollars, one-half the previous grant. This was the policy of 1820, and it was continued during the next two years. April 24, 1820, an important act was passed for the relief of western settlers in arrears. By it also the minimum price of land was set at one dollar and a quarter per acre and cash payment required. Tracts as small as quarter sections, eighty acres, could now be purchased. New immigrants were thus encouraged to buy directly from the government and not from land speculators.

In 1812, the "General Land Office" had been established as a sub-department of the treasury. Prior to this there had been sold over a million and a half acres. Since then and down to September 30, 1817, there were sold, northwest of the Ohio, nearly nine million acres, yielding over eighteen million dollars. In the Mississippi Territory, between 1812 and 1817, nearly two million acres were sold for four million dollars. This still left in the national domain four hundred million acres of land. In 1819, the year of financial crisis, land to the value of three and a quarter million dollars was sold. This record of sales was not passed until 1833, but by 1836 the figures of 1819 were dwarfed by the vast sales, which amounted, in round figures, to twenty-four million dollars. Jefferson said in his first inaugural that there was room enough in the West "for our descendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation." The future was indeed veiled from his eyes.

What was yesterday an Indian trail becomes to-morrow a wagon road. At a council held at Detroit, September 1, 1815, at which the brother of Tecumseh was present, most

of the northwestern tribes were pacified; the posts of Prairie du Chien and Mackinac were occupied, and different bands of the Sioux confederacy were led to bury the hatchet. Immediately after the war the tide set in. In 1818, the emigration from the Eastern States rose to more than sixty thousand. An observer counted fifty wagons crossing Muskingum River at Zanesville, Ohio, in one day. Ferries were crowded with families, carriages, wagons, negroes, carts, and domestic animals, on the way to Missouri and Illinois. In the lower South another observer counted at Augusta, Georgia, in nine days nearly four thousand persons bent on reaching the new lands to the West.

The Mississippi Territory, as first organized in 1798, did not touch the Gulf of Mexico. Its eastern limit was the Chattahoochee, its western the Mississippi. The southern base line was that marked by the thirty-first parallel its northern line that of thirty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes. To the north of this, the Georgia cession of 1802, which was added by the government to the Territory in 1804, increased it to nearly twice its previous size, and, with a strip obtained from South Carolina in the same year, the line ran to Mississippi River along the thirty-fifth parallel. In 1812, the Territory was extended to the Gulf. Congress had reserved the right to divide the Territory, and intended to make an equal division, but it was found that the location of the dividing line gave Alabama the larger portion.

Down to 1816, the greater portion of the country between the Mississippi and the Chattahoochee was occupied by Indian tribes, the white population being much scattered. Between the settlements on the Mississippi and those on the Tombigbee lay three hundred miles of wilderness with no natural or commercial connection. The southwestern section was in the lead and drew all emigration thither, to the dissatisfaction of the districts in the eastern part of the Territory. From the handful of men who located at Biloxi in 1699 to the opening of the nineteenth century, the

population had grown to seventy-six thousand persons. In 1810 there were thirty-one thousand, and just prior to the grant of statehood the number reached forty-five thousand. The leading city was Natchez.

In March, 1817, President Madison approved an act to enable the people of the Territory of Mississippi to form a State government. By this act the inhabitants of the western half of the Territory were authorized to form a State government. The boundaries were thus definitely prescribed: "Beginning on the river Mississippi at the point where the southern boundary line of the State of Tennessee strikes the same; thence east along the said boundary line to the Tennessee River; then up the same to the mouth of Bear Creek; then by a direct line to the northwest corner of the county of Washington; then due South to the Gulf of Mexico; then westwardly, including all the islands within six leagues of the shore, to the most eastern junction of Pearl River with Lake Borgne; then up said river to the 31st degree of north latitude; then west, along the said degree of latitude, to the Mississippi river; then up the same to the beginning." In accordance with this act, forty-seven delegates, representing fourteen counties, met in the town of Washington on the first Monday in July, 1817. David Holmes, the governor of the Territory, was elected president of the convention and subsequently the first governor of the new State. Mississippi, the seventh State to be made out of territory belonging to the Federal government, formed a constitution which was in keeping with the geographical and political life of the section, and which remained in force until 1832. Only free white males could be qualified electors. Representatives must own one hundred and fifty acres or have an interest in real estate valued at five hundred dollars, while Senators must have just twice these possessions. Though the convention met in the Methodist church, it was voted to exclude all ministers from the highest public offices. In subsequent modifications of the constitution these discriminations were omitted. All civil officers, save

the governor, lieutenant-governor, members of the legislature, and sheriffs, were to be appointed. Judges were to hold office during good behavior, but were to retire at sixty years of age. One representative and two senators were elected to the United States Congress. Mississippi was admitted to the Union on December 10, 1817. David Holmes was governor from 1817 to 1819, and was succeeded by George Poindexter, 1819–1821. The political equilibrium between North and South was preserved by the admission of Illinois on the 3d of December, 1818. The reestablishment of the fort at the foot of Lake Michigan in 1716 calls to view the early life and the later marvellous growth of the second city of the United States,—Chicago. The name is derived from what was the favorite rendezvous of the Indians in summer, the name meaning “wild onion.” Marquette had visited the place in 1673, and the French map of 1683 gave the name of the fort built there as “Checagou.” In 1804, Fort Dearborn was established at the mouth of the river of that name. On August 15, 1812, nearly thirty soldiers and all the male civilians save Mr. John Kinzie and his sons were murdered. The narrative of the sad event as told by Mrs. John H. Kinzie in her *Waubun* illustrates the splendid daring with which so many families of culture threw themselves far out on the frontier in the beginning of the century. The Kinzies were taken by the British to Canada, but returned to Chicago when the fort was erected at the close of the War of 1812.

In the spring of 1817 there was a great rush of immigrants into the newly opened country to the east of Mississippi Territory, the lands of which Flint described as more healthy than the maritime parts of the Carolinas, with the soil better adapted to the cultivation of cotton. Commerce was offered an inducement in the safe harbor of Mobile, which was situated above the overflow of the river and was soon to become a town of importance, affording to the cotton planters a fine shipping point for the great staple. Most impetuous was the spirit of the inhabitants of Alabama

Territory in the matter of gaining admission into the Union. By act of March 2, 1819, Congress gave them authority to form a constitution, and provided that only as much of the Ordinance of 1787 as was applicable to the Southwest need be considered in its formation. This admitted slavery. The Enabling Act prescribed its boundaries as follows: "Beginning at the point where the thirty-first degree of north latitude intersects the Perdido river; thence East to the western boundary of the State of Georgia; thence along said line to the southern boundary line of the State of Tennessee; thence west along said boundary line to the Tennessee river, thence up the same to the mouth of Bear creek; thence by a direct line to the northwest corner of Washington County; thence due south to the Gulf of Mexico; thence eastwardly, including all islands within six leagues of the shore, to the Perdido river; and thence up the same to the beginning."

The name taken from that of its principal river, is popularly translated "Here we rest," but no known meaning can be found in the name, which was first given to the river by the French in the form "Alibamu," derived from a Muskhogean tribe living in its valley. The original constitution followed closely that of Mississippi. On July 5, 1819, the Constitutional Convention met at Huntsville, situated in the beautiful valley of the Tennessee. J. W. Walker was chosen president of the body. An election held in the summer resulted in the choice of W. M. Bibb as the first governor of the State. Alabama entered the Union on December 14, 1819, as the twenty-second State, having been a Territory a shorter time than any other in the history of the nation. The country filled up with amazing rapidity. The census of 1816 gave twenty-two thousand whites and ten thousand colored. Before the close of 1820 the population swelled to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand.

The causes which led to the westward movement of the Southern people are not hard to determine. The Appalachian chain ends in Georgia and an easy way opens into

Mississippi and Alabama. The climate of these sections is uniform, the communication with the coast is easy, the city of New Orleans formed a convenient and satisfactory metropolis, and the lands lying to the west were cheap and accessible and, what was more to the men leaving the worn-out fields of Virginia, marvellously fertile. The Atlantic lowlands, which exhibited vast tracts overgrown with stunted pines, could not for a moment compare with the rich soils of the Southwest. The free navigation of the river, which had been denied by Spain, had been secured by the transfer of the land from France, and there was nothing to prevent the rapid occupancy of the lands of the Southwest.

The question of homogeneity gave little concern, and yet nowhere has the solidarity of a new settlement been better illustrated. Foreign immigration into the United States with its unexampled rush did not set in until the middle of the century. For a few years after the gloomy times following the overthrow of Napoleon, from 1816 to 1819, the numbers of English immigrants ranged from twenty to thirty-four thousand. Then came a decrease and then a rise until by 1832 they swelled beyond one hundred thousand. From Germany scarcely five thousand crossed the sea annually between 1819 and 1829, and only twenty-two thousand yearly up to 1843. So, up to 1820 the United States grew mainly by natural increase, and the political forms and institutions of the Atlantic plain and those of the Mississippi valley grew alike from kindred seed. If any difference could be marked, the South was more homogeneous than the North, as more foreign immigrants went West to the north of the Ohio.

Naturally, the South was in the agricultural stage of its life. The economic throne was a cotton bale. There was as yet little work done in the smelting of iron. The cotton gin of Whitney, the labor of slaves, the expansion of cotton growing territory, and European manufactures of exported raw material were the chief stimulants of cotton culture. About the end of the second decade of the nineteenth

century the South produced seven-eighths of the supply of the world. In 1784, seventy-one bags, about eight bales, had been seized on an American vessel, because it was thought that only by illegal means could so large a quantity have been obtained, and it was deemed impossible that America could have produced so much. Yet in 1791 nearly five thousand bales were shipped to Europe, and in 1800 over four thousand bales, each one weighing four hundred pounds, more cotton than formerly in each bale. In the next thirty years the increase was fourteenfold. The American manufacturer was far behind the American planter.

The peopling of the West and Southwest and the rising importance of these sections in national progress made the need of means of easy communication between them and the East imperative. The times demanded wise legislation, and to it Congress was obliged to turn its attention. The most outspoken champions of the development of the country at the general expense were those who had been known as the henchmen of Jefferson, especially from the West and South. Every economic reason existed for the support by these sections of the new schemes for developing their unpeopled lands, for marketing their products, for increasing means of communication. At first the statesmen of the South went with those of the West. In 1816, Calhoun, the real founder of the second Bank, urged a plan on the part of the government to improve the means of communication. In this he was supported by Lowndes. In the vote of March 14, 1818, thirty Southern representatives declared their belief in the right of the government to apply national funds for canals and roads.

In the discussion of the question of internal improvements it is well to keep in mind that the system was due to the foresight of Gallatin, by whom it was advocated in 1796. When Ohio was admitted, provision was made for reserving to the State one section in each township for the use of schools, and reserving one-twentieth of the net proceeds of land sales for the building of roads from the Atlantic to

the Western frontier. In 1806, Jefferson was in accord with Gallatin, save that the latter was less in doubt than Jefferson touching the necessity of an amendment to the Constitution in order to achieve the result. On March 29, 1806, Jefferson approved an Act of Congress "to regulate the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio." The scheme of Gallatin went far beyond this; it was that of an eminently constructive genius, and included continuous inland navigation along the coast to Cape Fear and a piked road from Maine to Georgia, all at a cost of nearly eight million dollars. It contemplated the cementing of the two sections, East and West, by rendering more serviceable four Atlantic and four Western rivers and their connection by four roads across the Appalachian ridge. It planned a canal at the Falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, and the joining of Hudson River with Lake Champlain and Niagara Falls. Gallatin sent in his report April 12, 1808, hoping to fix the policy of the government for at least ten years by a national system to be executed by Congress. But the times were not propitious. The Embargo damped public spirit. The Senate was more disposed than the House to favor canals and roads. The report got no further than an order for its printing.

Pennsylvania and New York now pressed their claims upon Congress for national aid, but jealousy on the part of other States and constitutional scruples of the president proved a serious bar to progress. Thus rebuffed, the commissioners recommended their States to begin the work of building canals and roads on their own account. In April, 1811, the first contract was signed in Pennsylvania for the construction of the first ten miles west of Cumberland, Maryland.

At Cumberland, where General Braddock had assembled his little army for the march against the French at Fort Du Quesne, the national pike started for Wheeling on Ohio River. It was a magnificent piece of engineering for that

day. It averaged eighty feet in width, with markers at each quarter of a mile. Hard stone and gravel gave it a solid bed and smooth surface. The grades up and down the mountains were regulated so as to insure the safety and comfort of travellers. Ravines were spanned by arches. Travellers were not loath to praise the road by which the emigrant, trader, and traveller filed in ceaseless throng to the West. In 1818, United States mail coaches were running between Washington, D. C., and Wheeling, Virginia. But the completion of the road did not guarantee its preservation. To support the grants in aid of the pike was a popular thing to do, but this tendency received a serious check in the veto of Monroe, May 4, 1822, of the bill appropriating a small sum, indeed, only nine thousand dollars, in behalf of the road. The measure also authorized the erection of toll gates and the collection of tolls for the repairing of the road. In the debate it appeared that while the West wanted the extension of the road, Pennsylvania was jealous. The veto of the president, in 1822, was based upon the general ground that Congress had no power to plan and execute a system of internal improvements. The accompanying State paper was sent in without the usual conference with the Cabinet and covered the whole question of constitutional right to aid local interests.

The veto of 1822, which prevented the national treasury from aiding internal improvements, was really more injurious to the South than to the North and Northwest. The New York legislature supported the canal enterprise, and Pennsylvania, with now and then some help from the government, pushed the national road westward, where the work was taken up by the States tapped by the great highway. Ohio, for example, had an available fund upon its entrance to statehood which enabled it to carry the road as far as the one hundred and thirteenth mile. But the South and Southwest at this time could not carry on extensive internal improvements and the veto of the president fell heavily upon this section.

The tendency to use public funds for internal improvements received a check, and despite the fact that the leaders like Clay, Adams, and Calhoun favored what the people clamored for, the message of the plain and unimaginative president acted as a breakwater to the liberal policy of the times. Adams, Jefferson, and Madison had approved large appropriations for numerous improvements. To Monroe, however, the bill authorizing the levying of tolls was a step too far, as it implied sovereignty over the land whereon improvements had been made. Yet he could not entirely resist the demands of the new States and of liberal statesmen, for in 1824 he signed a bill similar to the one he had vetoed in 1822, and the road was put in repair. The debate upon the constitutionality of the measure to aid the road gave the West good reasons for fearing that it would not be continued beyond Ohio River. The Act of 1825 set the minds of the people on the west side of the river at rest, and there was great enthusiasm in Ohio when a really noble bridge was thrown across the river to connect Wheeling with Bridgeport. The road went through Ohio like an arrow, that State not having demanded, like Pennsylvania, that it should pass through certain towns. The line of the road from Ohio River to Columbus, followed the old "Zane's Trace," and in the fourth decade was extended westward to the Indiana line. It did not reach Indianapolis until near the middle of the century. Naturally it grew less and less important and useful the further it went to the West. The last appropriation made by the government was dated May 25, 1838. The States were left to complete what the government had begun; indeed, they had with much State pride invested large sums in the enterprise for many years. The Cumberland road was finally extended to St. Louis, and its last milestone rested on the banks of the Mississippi.

The Erie canal project of New York took all that State's thought, and it bore the whole burden, as it got nothing from the national treasury. The big "ditch" which was

completed in 1825 joined the Lakes with the Hudson. These two lines of travel, the national road and the canal, proved a mighty bond between the sections, and from them flowed a sentiment, social and patriotic, tending to a finer unity and more stable future.

CHAPTER VIII

MONROE AND THE "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS"

THE last two years of the second administration of Madison were uneventful. The president did little else than to prepare the way for the succession of his trusted lieutenant, James Monroe. The nation at large was too much occupied with striving for material progress to concern itself with political strife. When the day for the presidential election of 1816 came, there was little popular interest and still less conflict of parties. In the vote of the electoral college, Monroe, the Democratic-Republican candidate, received one hundred and eighty-three ballots, while Rufus King, by the last effort of his party, received but thirty-four. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was elected vice-president.

In the new president the nation had no unknown leader. But James Monroe had not achieved eminent distinction in any office he had ever held. He had served in the Revolutionary War, had been governor of Virginia, minister to France, and again special envoy in the purchase of Louisiana, secretary of war, the successor of Rufus King at London, and secretary of state. He was intensely patriotic, not given to rash words or ill-considered deeds, willing to take the responsibility for what might be an unpopular course, not a bitter partisan, and, on the whole, just such a president as at that time would most likely be welcomed by the country.

Though Monroe was not exceptional among captains and statesmen, he was possessed of undoubted integrity, and

surrounded himself with an able circle of administrators. John Quincy Adams was appointed secretary of state; John C. Calhoun, secretary of war; William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury; B. W. Crowninshield, secretary of the navy, to be shortly afterward followed by Smith Thompson, of New York; John McLean, postmaster-general; and William Wirt, attorney-general. Henry Clay had confidently expected the place that was given to Adams, and, whether from chagrin or some other reason, was the only prominent man who absented himself from the inauguration.

Monroe was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817, a day of such serenity and auspicious brightness that it seemed to mirror the new hopes of the nation, turning to the happy future which promised no small glory to the reunited people. The sentiments of the hour found expression in the address of the sober-minded president. "The present happy state" were the first words of Monroe to the nation. He welcomed "the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our Union. Discord does not belong to our system." Party animosity and personal bitterness, which had been allowed large exercise in the late war, were to receive their quietus in a visit which Monroe made to the East and the nearer West. No president since the time of Washington had visited the various sections of the country. While not seeking to parade his office by encouraging the lavish welcomes offered to him throughout the land, yet the president was more than willing to unify popular pride in the Union by accepting the tributes of admiration and enthusiasm from all parties and sections. In Boston, Harrison Gray Otis joined with the most radical Republican in eloquent salutation. The enthusiasm rose to such a pitch that the Democratic editor of *Niles's Register* could not refrain from saying that he would not "retail all the chit-chat stuff that appears in the papers about him—as irksome to the republican mind and manners of Mr. Monroe as to the people at large," and regarded with suspicion the fondness of the New York papers for the title of "his excellency." But the joy of a



House of John H. Kinzie, said to have been the first built in Chicago. By Mrs. J. A. Kinzie.

reunited people could not be easily hindered from expressing itself. The Boston *Centinel* gave currency to the phrase "the era of good feelings," a title for the eight years of Monroe's administration which history accepted as a fair statement of the general mind throughout the land. Even so decided a partisan as General Jackson, perhaps with an eye to the future impression his private correspondence would make when given to the world, wrote to Monroe, urging him to choose his public servants from both parties. But Monroe was not yet ready to recognize for public office men whose attitude toward the Republican administration had in any wise been under suspicion. However, party lines faded, and party names became indistinct in meaning. "Federalist" was no longer in use, and "Democrat," which had been slowly coming to the front since the Ninth Congress, was for the time put into the background, and even "Jeffersonian Republican" had not the force it once possessed. In their retirement, the two sages of their party, Jefferson at Monticello and Madison at Montpelier, looked with unconcealed interest upon the slow evolution which was bending the affection and pride of the people to the image, the ideas, and the renown of a republican nation. The men with whom Monroe surrounded himself were of the new school of political thinkers. Their policy was an eager one. Their national principles had pushed far beyond that of the older Federalists. In his personal dealings with leading men of his own party, Monroe had no serious difficulties with any save the rival chieftains Henry Clay and William H. Crawford, both nationalist Republicans, both with vigorous personal followings, the one in and the other out of the Cabinet, and both ambitious, but Clay more scrupulous than Crawford in his dealings with his fellow rivals for high place. Crawford's course was certainly less defensible than that of Clay. The latter had refused to accept a place in the Cabinet, the former had remained in that body, using his opportunity for creating dissension with what seems a dishonorable spirit.

In his position of Speaker of the House in the newly assembled Fifteenth Congress, Clay found a vantage ground for the exercise of an ambition to lead the popular mind. And though he was spoken of in private as being in a sort of half opposition to the new administration, his generosity and sense of honor did not betray him into unworthy use of his high place.

The work of this Congress is of special interest in its handling of foreign relations. With Great Britain we were at peace. We were regarded with a new respect from that quarter. With France we had no vexatious relations. Spain, alone of European powers, gave occasion for diplomatic trouble. The restored king, Ferdinand, was helpless in the execution of any desire he had to resent the aggressions of the United States in her inevitable advance to the south and west, but his agents secretly fomented discord on the Florida borders. The resident Spanish minister, Don Onís, was instructed to keep the question open and suspend any action, careful only that neither rupture nor settlement should result from his attitude. Nor was the administration disposed to crowd him to either of these situations hastily, trusting that time would cure the contention.

The first event of importance in the administration of Monroe was the first Seminole war, which was to lead to the acquisition of Florida. The Seminoles were, for the greater part, Creeks who had wandered to the South. Their name is significant of their separation from the nation of Creeks. This relationship to the Creeks was, however, denied by the "Wanderers." In the war of 1812 they aided the British at Pensacola, and before the departure of the British commander, Colonel Edward Nicholls, he had erected in Spanish territory a fort for his Indian and negro allies. The conquest of the Creeks by Jackson in 1814, did not have the expected effect in quieting those of that nation who had fled over the line into Florida and found refuge with the Seminoles. This negro fort became the rallying point for Indians, negroes, and white desperadoes. From it forays were made into Georgia and property was destroyed

and captured and lives lost. General Edmund P. Gaines determined to punish the marauders, and demanded the surrender of certain murderers. On the refusal of the Seminoles to deliver the criminals to the American authorities, Gaines, under authority of the war department, marched, in November, 1817, from Fort Scott to attack the Indian village of Fowltown. This he burned. The Indians quickly retaliated. They attacked a craft on Flint River bringing supplies to Fort Scott. The boat carried seven women, four children, and forty United States soldiers. The savages killed and mutilated all but five. Gaines called out a body of Georgia militia and planned a campaign into Florida. But the situation called for a stronger man than Gaines, and General Jackson, in command of the southern military department, was ordered to take the field in person. In a private letter Jackson urged Monroe to sanction the utmost pursuit of the foe, even into Spanish territory. The fiery general was for seizing East Florida as indemnity for Spanish outrages upon American citizens. "This can be done without implicating the government. Let it be signified to me through any channel,—say Mr. J. Rhea,—that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished." Whether Jackson ever heard from the president directly may be doubted, but he evidently conceived that he had sufficient authority for pushing aggression against the Spaniards to its extreme. He crushed the Seminoles and practically seized Florida. He executed two British subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, because he believed them to have aided the Seminoles. He pushed on to Pensacola, the stronghold of the Spaniards. It surrendered without a blow in defence. He captured St. Mark's. In both places he left American garrisons. Jackson returned home to be applauded by his fellow countrymen, but blamed by the administration for his lawless and ill-advised conduct. Pensacola was returned to the Spanish authorities unconditionally, and promises of substantial compensation for Jackson's violence were made.

Jackson was charged with exceeding his orders. In the Cabinet, Calhoun was outspoken against Jackson, while Adams defended him. Ten years later, Crawford betrayed the fact that Calhoun had said Jackson ought to be court-martialed. In the investigation which followed Jackson was sustained by the House and condemned by the Senate. But the end of the ambiguous position of Florida was not far off. Spain saw the advisability of selling what she felt would in the end slip out of her hands, so through the energy and skill of John Quincy Adams, East Florida was ceded to the United States on the 22d of February, 1819, for about six and a half million dollars, including bonds and interest to the time of redemption. By the same treaty the western boundary of Louisiana was fixed at Sabine River. The United States by accepting this line relinquished her claim to Texas, but Adams in return for this secured from Spain the renunciation of all claims on the Pacific coast, north of the forty-second degree of north latitude, thus giving the United States a firmer grip upon Oregon. The treaty also confirmed her title to West Florida. Ratification was not given by Spain till October 29, 1820, and only after two years, on February 22, 1821, did Mr. Monroe make proclamation of the treaty. March 10th, of the same year, General Jackson was appointed governor of Florida Territory.

That the title given to Monroe's administration, the "era of good feelings," was not altogether accurate is evident from the agitation caused by the great question of preserving the political equality of the South and North.

The natural result of the nationalization of the new Territories added to the Union since the beginning of the century was seen in the efforts of the two sections, North and South, to preserve between them the political equilibrium with which the nation had started. The nation had founded its Constitution on compromise. As we draw near to the end of the second decade of the century there appears a decided uneasiness touching the possible loss of this balance

between the two sections. The South had naturally been the beneficiary of the Seminole war, practically a defensive war for the protection of American civilization, and not, as has been asserted, a hunt of the United States army for fleeing slaves. That the effort in Congress to censure Jackson for his high-handed course was not in connection with the question of the extension of slavery is credible from the fact that Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, who later on introduced a proposition for restricting slavery, opposed the censure of the general, while Cobb, of Georgia, favored it, and Adams, of Massachusetts, defended Jackson, while Calhoun, of South Carolina, was ready to bring him to account. The natural boundary of the United States southward and east of the great river was thus achieved. The Union still meant more to the radical abolitionist than later on. Nor did there seem any considerable anxiety as to the certain slave-holding future of the new territory.

But when we examine the change of sentiment between the days of the Revolution and those of the Constitution we discover a disposition even on the part of those who declaimed most loudly upon the "rights of man," when those rights were intertwined with their own liberties, to ease up in the intensity of their feelings for the liberty of some of their own countrymen. The first compromise of the Constitution was political, the second commercial, the third a special guarantee of the rights of the slave owner, in each case the only common ground upon which the North and the South could agree to frame and support a comprehensive instrument of government. The world was not going forward in this. Up to 1808, this policy was pursued with no break in the chain. Kentucky first and then Tennessee were admitted as slave States, balanced by the admission of Vermont and Ohio. Louisiana was followed by Indiana, Mississippi by Illinois. Then came Alabama. These States were east of Mississippi River, and were provided for by the character of the Territory from which they were born into statehood. That there was a lapse from the high idealism

of the Revolutionary fathers is seen in the expressed wish of Indiana to be admitted as a slave State. And when South Carolina abolished its law against the importation of slaves the case had gone so far that Congress gave it time to reenact the law, but without effect, then by act abolished the foreign slave trade at the first opportunity offered by the Constitution, January 1, 1808. This act appeared to satisfy the great majority of the people of the nation. Then came the war, during which nothing could be brought to the front for discussion having to do with the freedom of the slaves or the question of the extension of slave territory. And when the country settled back into peace, and the vested rights of the South, increasingly prosperous since the invention of the cotton-gin by Whitney, were recognized as part of the constitutional progress of the nation, it is not strange that men in the South sincerely believed that in the distant future some happy solution of the vexed matter would be found, and men in the North were willing to let rest what did not immediately affect them and as well brought great profit to their counters. Many men in both sections regarded the "institution" as having a merely temporary status, sure to have its beneficial modifications, if not final obliteration.

The slaveholding power grew annually stronger. Louisiana had been bought with an obligation on the part of the United States to preserve slavery in the territory. When, in 1804, the region was divided into two parts at the thirty-third parallel of north latitude, and the northern portion put under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Indiana, the southern was named the Territory of Orleans, and slavery was guaranteed its life in the lower section, and in 1805 in the northern portion. In 1812, Louisiana was admitted to the Union as a slave State, and the Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri.

Up to 1818, nothing was done to retard the extension of slavery into Missouri Territory. When the Fifteenth Congress assembled in December, 1817, the free

States were in the ascendency in the House, though the inequality was not so pronounced in the Senate, there being nine slave and ten free States in the Union. Early in the session, Mississippi was admitted, and in December, 1818, Illinois became a member of the sisterhood of States. In the second session of this Congress, 1818-1819, Alabama and Missouri, both slave territories, knocked at the door for admission into the Union. The struggle for the balance of power was at once precipitated. The alternative for the North was to bring in one of these two as a free State or shut it out altogether. In the case of Alabama, its parent State, Georgia, at the time it made the cession, stipulated that slavery should be recognized in the territory, and on applying for admission, Alabama was allowed to come into the Union without any restrictions touching slavery.

A geographical line now separated the free and the slave States for the first time in the history of the country. We have now a drama in three acts. First, an amendment to restrict slavery, which was lost. Secondly, a compromise between the Senate and the House, in which the former tied Maine and Missouri together; the House, however, restricted slavery to Missouri, and the Senate dropped the combination of Maine and Missouri and the House agreed to exclude slavery from all the territory north and west of Missouri. Thirdly, a constitution, presented by the legislature of Missouri when the territory applied for statehood, with a clause prohibiting emancipation and excluding immigration of free negroes. That the progress of the debate upon the admission of Missouri came nearly ending in tragedy is evident from the words of Jefferson to John Holmes: "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror."

Missouri had nearly seventy thousand population, ten thousand of whom were slaves. It claimed the right to enter the Union. On the 18th of December, 1818, at the second session of Congress, Henry Clay laid before the House a memorial from the Missouri legislature asking for

admission to the Union. On February 13, 1819, the Committee of the Whole House took up the report of the committee to which had been handed down the memorial for report, and inaugurated a debate which lasted for more than a year. Mr. James Tallmadge, of New York, on the day of Clay's motion to admit Missouri, offered the notable amendment which called out all the legal ability of the House and gave the whole country cause for profound and prolonged concern. It was as follows: "And provided that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." The two great questions to be discussed in a consideration of the admission of Missouri were constitutional power and public policy. The restrictionists claimed the power to force Missouri to adopt a constitution to their liking. Those who supported the claim in the first debate were Taylor, of New York; Mills, of Massachusetts; Livermore of New Hampshire, and Fuller, of Massachusetts, opposed by Clay, Barbour, and Pindall, of Virginia. The main point under the first head was whether Congress had power to place restrictions upon new States which the Constitution had not imposed upon the original States. Tallmadge and his friends argued that Congress was not *required to* "admit new States into the Union," but only *empowered to* do so at its discretion; therefore it could *refuse to* do so at its discretion, and if so, that it could admit upon condition, and bind the new commonwealth to observe said condition. Precedents were quoted from the admission of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and even from Louisiana whose admission was coupled with conditions. On the question of public policy it was urged that Southern criticism of slavery itself would prevent the act of unconditional admission of slave States. Clay had tried to have the amendment withdrawn on the ground of humanity. John

W. Taylor, of New York, said: "The humanity to which he appeals is base coin, it is counterfeit; it is that humanity which seeks to palliate disease by the application of nostrums which scatter its seeds through the whole system—which saves a finger *to-day* but amputates the arm to-morrow." It was ruinous economics and worse morals to allow the extension of slavery.

In their answer, the opponents of restriction did not attempt to deny that slavery was in theory wrong, and economically injurious, but they contended that by giving it room for spreading into new territory there would be some mitigation of its ills, for their masters would not be compelled to keep slaves in want, as in the older States of the South they were often obliged to do in consequence of the impoverished soil. Upon the point of constitutionality the defenders of the right of unconditional admission were upon surer ground, and strengthened their case as the debate progressed. Barbour, of Virginia, urged in an effective speech that there were no limits to constitutional provisions for conditions, and that even the Ordinance of 1787 could be rendered null and void if the States concerned wished slavery, and that no conditions should be imposed upon the new States that had not been imposed upon the original States. So the North was thrown forward upon the moral ground, the South cast back upon the Constitution.

The House carried the first part of the amendment prohibiting the introduction of slavery into Missouri by a vote of eighty-seven to seventy-six. The vote upon doing away with slavery then existing was eighty-two to seventy-eight. On its passage up to the Senate, February 19, 1819, it was read twice and referred to the committee in charge of the bill for admitting Alabama. In the debate of the 22d, which is not reported in the *Annals* or in Benton's *Abridgment*, the argument on the constitutionality of the amendment resulted in the loss of the amendment by a vote of twenty-two to sixteen against the first part of the amendment, and thirty-one to seven against the other. Even Rufus King voted

against the second part. The original bill was then passed by the Senate and sent to the House. The House refused to agree to the omission of the amendment, and the Senate resolving to adhere to its action, the matter went over to the next session.

On the assembling of Congress in December, 1819, the question was immediately reopened. The restrictionists and their opponents had in the previous debate practically agreed that Congress might determine the status of a Territory, as such, so the former now planned to clear slavery out of all the Territories west of the Mississippi by an Act of Congress. The Territories thus relieved might then be admitted as free States. The plan was that of John W. Taylor, of New York, who moved, on the 14th of December, the appointment of a committee to consider the question of the prohibition of slavery in the western Territories, not so much by emancipation as by shutting out importations. The plan was vigorously and successfully opposed by the Southern members. On the 21st of December, 1819, Maine applied for admission as a State. A bill was reported providing for this, and it was passed by the House on January 3, 1820, without any connection with the Missouri bill. Meanwhile, Taylor's committee asked for its discharge, not being able to come to any agreement. On the 26th a motion of Mr. Storrs, of New York, to prohibit slavery north of the thirty-eighth parallel and west of Mississippi River failed in the House. Taylor then proposed an amendment to the effect that Missouri should be required upon entrance to prohibit slavery by constitutional action. Not only did the men from the South oppose this measure, but, Holmes, of Massachusetts denounced it in a powerful speech. He based his argument upon the necessity of similar treatment by Congress of both the original States and all new ones entering the Union, both as to liabilities and privileges. McLane, of Delaware, though instructed by his Legislature to oppose all extension of slavery, supported Holmes.

On January 3, 1820, Senator James Barbour, from Virginia, acting upon a suggestion of Henry Clay made some weeks earlier in the House, announced his intention to combine the two bills in one, the House bill admitting Missouri, and the Senate bill admitting Maine. Otis argued that the bills should be separated, contending that the two provisions were not accordant, but in vain. On January 14th, the Senate refused to separate the two by a vote of twenty-five to eighteen. On the 3d of February an amendment was proposed by Mr. Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, around which there rolled a short time afterward the waves of strong debate. On February 7th, it was withdrawn. A week later, William Pinkney, the leading advocate of Maryland, if not of the nation, offered the strongest constitutional argument against restriction, taking care that his argument should not be weaker than his cause. On February 16th, Mr. Thomas offered another amendment, but withdrew it and resubmitted his original amendment, which read as follows: "And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited; Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This amendment was adopted on the 17th of February, 1820, by a vote of thirty-four to ten, more Southerners voting for than against the amendment. The amended bill was adopted the following day by a vote of twenty-four to twenty. Delaware and Illinois voted with the slaveholding States. The House was firm in opposition, and sent the

bill minus the amendments back to the Senate. That body insisted. The House again refused. A conference was requested. An agreement was at last reached in which the Senate withdrew its amendments to the bill of the House for the admission of Maine; and the House and Senate passed the Missouri bill leaving out the restrictive clause; and both added a provision confining slavery south of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes.

President Monroe consulted his Cabinet upon the question of the constitutionality of the Act. The members were unanimous as to the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in a Territory. The point of most difficulty lay in the question of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery "forever" in States that might be created in the territory north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. Calhoun did not want to be committed to a written expression upon this point. Adams thought that "forever" must apply to States as well as to Territories. The president signed the Maine Bill on the 3d of March and the Missouri Bill on the 6th of the same month, 1820. It is curious to note that in 1838 Calhoun denied that he had affirmed the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, but, as Schouler says, "the proofs are against him."

The Enabling Act of March 6, 1820, prescribed the following boundaries for the new State: "Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi river on the parallel of thirty-six degrees north latitude; then due west to the St. Francis river, and up that river to the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude; then due west to a point where the said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river; thence due north to the intersection of the parallel which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines; thence east to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the Des Moines river, down the Des Moines to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to the place of beginning." The

northern boundary was for a long time in dispute. Iowa claimed the rapids in the Mississippi were the point through which the parallel was to pass; Missouri claimed that the line ran twenty-five miles further north through rapids in the Des Moines itself. The boundary dispute was finally settled by the Supreme Court, February 15, 1848, in favor of Iowa. On the west the boundary line was extended by Act of Congress, June 7, 1836, to Missouri River. According to the Compromise this was to have been free soil, but the Act joined it to a slave State.

Slavery had been abolished in Maine while it was still a part of Massachusetts; therefore the constitution of 1820, which is still the organic law of the State, contained no reference to slavery. It gave the right of suffrage to "male citizens of the United States of the age of twenty-one years or upward"; made the election of governors, senators, and representatives annual; fixed the number of the lower house at not more than two hundred nor less than one hundred, to be chosen by towns according to population, no town to have more than seven representatives; fixed the number of the Senate at not more than thirty-one nor less than twenty, to be chosen by senatorial districts; provided for a council of seven, and ordered its members with the governor, to examine the returns of legislative elections and summon "such persons as shall appear to be elected by a majority of the votes in the district." William King was chosen governor in 1820, and W. D. Williams governor in 1821.

The separation of Maine from Massachusetts is explained on the ground that the district was Democratic, while the State was Federalist. Before the separation the Congressmen and local officers of Maine were usually Democratic, but the governor and legislatures of the State to which they belonged were Federalist.

Was the Compromise the tender of the North or of the South? Historians differ in their estimates. Benton claimed it as the proffer of the South. If it had a Northern basis,

it was proposed by Thomas, who had voted with the Southerners. A flat verdict that the North qualified its ethical advantage and the South its constitutional rights will not quite state the case. And yet the truth lies along that path. The days of 1820 were full of cross currents, nor did men see with clear vision the ultimate solution of the vexed question. Free labor did gain. The South did not lose its rights under a state of "equilibrium." Whether or not the Missouri question was a "mere party trick," inaugurated, according to Jefferson, by leaders of Federalism to regain political power by dividing the people geographically, and they took advantage of the "virtuous feeling of the people," it is true that the new issue, the restraint of the slave power served them a good purpose, as it contained a brief and comprehensible dogma and expressed the sentiment of the epoch. For a while the land breathed at ease. But in less than twelve months the political volcano was in a state of violent eruption. A convention met in Missouri in June, 1820, and formed a constitution. It was composed of men who desired to make Missouri a slave State. After a month's debate a constitution was adopted, in effect, of its own motion, not being referred to the people. For a year Missouri held the anomalous position of a State organized with all its officials in service, yet not a member of the Union. The clause in the new constitution which inflamed the country, but just cooled off, was one "to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling within the State." At the meeting of Congress, Henry Clay was absent, but had forwarded his resignation as Speaker. Lowndes, who was beaten by Taylor for the speakership, presented, on November 14, 1820, the instrument of the Missouri Convention for sanction by Congress. A warm debate resulted, on December 13, 1820, in a vote of ninety-three to seventy-nine against admission. The Senate favored admission without limitations. On January 29th Mr. Clay, who had returned to the floor of the House on the 16th, asked for a select committee of thirteen to consider the

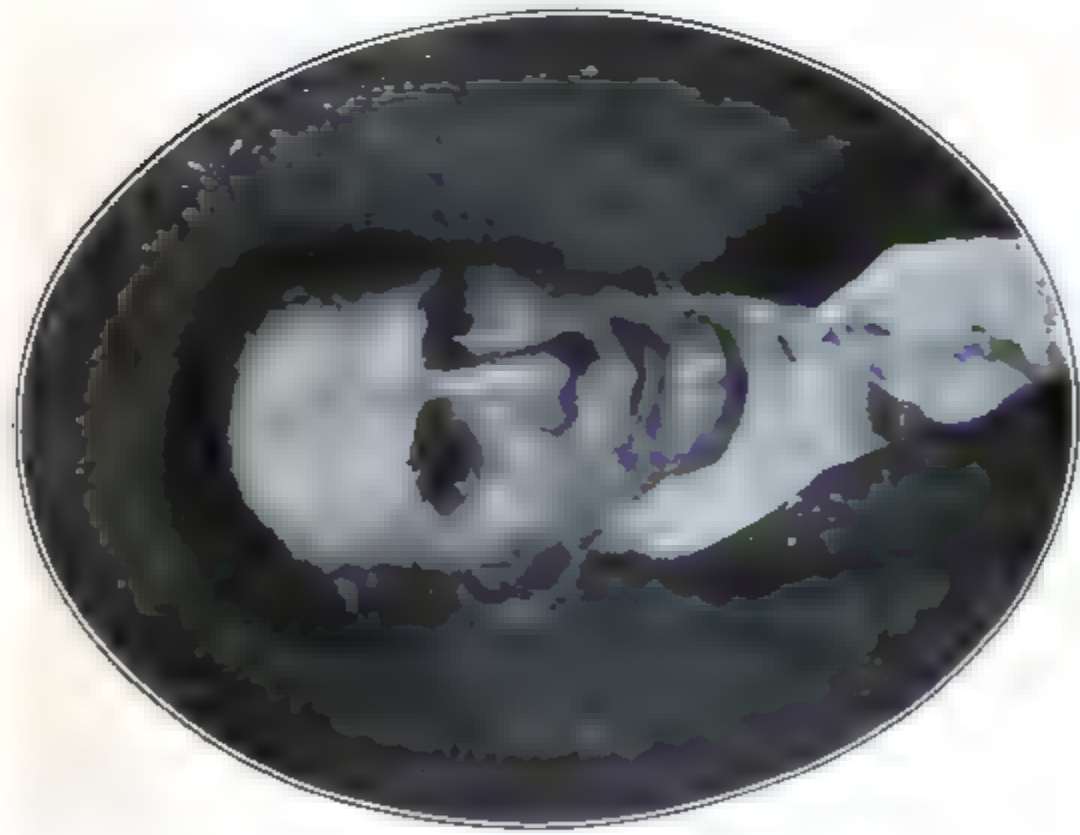
Senate bill. This first attempt was a failure. On the 22d of February he proposed a conference committee of the two Houses, which finally, under Clay's leadership, achieved a settlement of the whole matter, on the basis that Missouri should be admitted into the Union on condition of not infringing the rights of any citizen of the United States through the injurious construction of the clause in debate. In the course of the summer, Missouri assented, though denying the power of Congress to bind it, and the proclamation dated the admission of the new State August 10, 1821.

The results of this great debate led the Southerners to desert the broad national ground which they had occupied since 1812 and to attempt to restrict the powers of Congress, one of whose Houses was steadily trending northward in opinion; the great Northwest was secured for free labor, and later on there followed an attempt on the part of the South to repudiate, but without avail, the present position; of United States citizenship was fashioned an ideal which could not be abridged by State action; power went to the West and the East was led to take new interest in its development; and, finally, while the Compromise enabled the North to force upon the South a class of unwelcome citizens, unrecognized by the South, it increased misunderstanding and estrangement between the two sections of the Union.

If the country was divided upon the question of the admission of a new State, it happily was blessed with confidence in its head. The second election of Monroe in 1820 was characterized by an utter absence of the elements of discord, save as they might exist in local elections. Monroe was chosen president by a total vote in the electoral college of two hundred and thirty-one. One vote was cast for John Quincy Adams by Plumer, of New Hampshire, not, as has been said, that George Washington's record of unanimous election might remain unrivalled, but out of real distrust of Monroe. Tompkins was reelected vice-president, but by a lessened vote, owing to the state of his public

accounts. Hopelessly embarrassed, he died soon after the expiration of his second term of office. Monroe lived through his second term, the same magnanimous, conscientious, deliberate, and modest man, whose motives were not impugned, save by the meanly suspicious, and whose patriotism had no bounds, leading him even to appoint his enemies to public office over the heads of his friends. His patience exceeded belief. Adams's eulogy pictured him "investigating by the midnight lamp the laws of nature and nations." In him the style of the days of Washington bespoke the simple dignity of the friend of the first president: "Tall, dressed in the old style, small clothes, silk hose, knee buckles, pumps, to which he adhered so long that he came to be called the last cocked hat." Jefferson said of him: "He is a man whose soul might be turned wrong side outwards, without discovering a blemish to the world." He held men to him. Four of his Cabinet, Adams, Calhoun, Crawford, and Wirt, remained with him the entire eight years of his administration.

It was during the second administration of Monroe that he gave utterance to that most significant declaration whose germ lay in the founding of the nation, and whose ultimate extension no man can safely forecast. The fall of Napoleon left popular liberty in worse peril than when France dictated their near future to most of the European countries. On the restoration of the royal families to their thrones the hopes of democracy suffered collapse. The "Holy Alliance," organized in 1815 to maintain "legitimacy, that softer word for despotism," as Clay well phrased it, bound Russia, Prussia, and Austria together to return to the old paths. In 1821, they issued their manifesto at Laibach, announcing that all legislation ought to emanate from the free action of "those whom God has rendered responsible for power." Rule without responsibility to subjects ruled meant martyrdom for popular liberty. In its fright at the explosions of a democratic spirit in Spain, Naples, Piedmont, and Portugal, the Alliance used armed men to put down all efforts at



Henry Clay.

*From the painting by William Jewett, in the collection
of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, Louisville.*



*From the painting by James H. Beard, in possession
of the Missouri Historical Society.*

self-liberation. Spain was the only country in whose embarrassments with her South American colonies the United States had special interest.

Napoleon's attempted subjugation of Spain had for its result over sea the independence of South America. 1808 is its era, for it is bound up with the transfer to Napoleon by Charles V. of all rights and titles to the Spanish throne and the Indies. The plot of Napoleon included the liberation of the South American provinces, and in his secret instructions to his agents mention is made of warlike stores, and of "having agreed with the United States of North America to accommodate him therewith."

In 1813-1814 efforts at revolution in these possessions failed, and when the offer of conditional allegiance on the part of Buenos Ayres to the restored and haughty Ferdinand of Spain was met with scorn and rebuff, the Congress of Buenos Ayres, on the 9th of July, 1816, proclaimed its independence. Revolution spread to Paraguay and Chili. Venezuela and the northern provinces threw off their allegiance to the mother country. Brazil was contented with an hereditary dynasty received from Portugal in 1808. Self-conquest being harder than extrication from the tyranny of the motherland, and the bitterness of civil strife making speedy recognition on the part of the United States unwise, Mr. Madison went so far as to treat the state of affairs in South America in the beginning as one of civil war, and took, officially, the position of strict neutrality. Nevertheless, aid and comfort, for profit, was given to the revolutionists by Americans, and privateers manned by Americans preyed upon Spanish commerce. Spain's complaints brought her little satisfaction, although an Act was passed on March 3, 1816, which prescribed fine and imprisonment for those cruising against any power with which the United States was at peace. The diplomacy needed in the treatment of Florida and Texas tended to promote caution on the part of Monroe, but delay only heated the popular sympathy for those who were struggling for independence

in South America. In 1818, Clay moved an appropriation for the support of a minister to Buenos Ayres. But the House rejected the motion. Instead, a contingent fund was ordered for special commissioners to South America. (Act of April 20, 1818.) By 1821, the "republic of Colombia" and Mexico were practically independent of Spain. In March, 1822, the president recommended an appropriation for promoting foreign intercourse with these nations, and an Act was passed with only one objecting vote, and became a law on the 4th of May, 1822. Thus did the United States first welcome the young republics of the South into the sisterhood of nations.

Spain was incensed at the increasing sympathy of the United States with her rebellious colonies. Ferdinand sought the aid of the Holy Alliance in his endeavor to bring the South American republics back to their allegiance. In this attempt he was unsuccessful, but his efforts caused alarm in the United States and men spoke of the danger of a Spanish or European invasion. Distrust of Europe and sympathy with the younger sisters of the Southern Hemisphere were common enough sentiments in the United States to lead any big-hearted statesman like Clay to hope for a real alliance with them, in some shape or other. The "Holy Alliance" of Europe might well be offset by another alliance on this side of the sea. This feeling was intensified by the action of Russia on September 24, 1821, in forbidding all foreigners from trading on the Pacific coast north of the fifty-first parallel, a ukase which called forth a lively protest from John Quincy Adams. Great Britain at this time had ceased to be in accord with the European reactionaries, and to her the United States, in this time of storm, instinctively turned.

Our minister to Britain was Richard Rush, who was able, discreet, and courageous. While he found that Britain was disposed to make friendly overtures, he yet found the Cabinet loath to recognize the Spanish Republics. George Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, was unwilling

to be dragged into another war with combined Europe. But British selfishness might be itself a peril. On the discovery that France was about to propose a general congress of Europe to discuss the South American States, Canning proposed, confidentially, to Rush, joint action against the continental alliance. Rush declined, unless the British government would acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, but this Canning refused to consider.

As time wore on, Rush had reason to distrust the sincerity of Canning. Rush wrote to Adams that Canning appeared to him to have been trying to secure a pledge from the United States, not so much of action against the interference of the Holy Alliance, as against the acquisition on the part of the United States of any more territory, and to this no American would commit himself, even though sincerely purposeful to give the South American States the fullest liberty of action.

Russia, through Baron Tuyl, her minister at Washington, took a determined stand upon the question of recognition of the South American republics. The policy of the czar was outlined by the minister as follows: the czar would not receive any minister from South America; he was glad to know of the neutrality of the United States; Russia was determined to crush all revolutionary movements, and to keep order in the "civilized world." This phrase meant Europe and might have included America. Here was Adams's opening. He insisted to the president that items of correspondence upon the subject under discussion "must all be a part of a combined system of policy and adapted to each other." Adams persuaded the president not to enter into any combination with Great Britain, and to commit himself to a purely American policy. Adams laid his draft of the answer to the Russian minister before the Cabinet on November 21st, but Monroe's first sketch of the forthcoming message shows that he did not quite grasp the main point of Adams's policy; for he was so near to losing the essential part of the proposed reply of Adams to the

Russian minister, that he in his draft brought America into antagonism with the Holy Alliance and interfered with matters wholly European by recognizing Greece as an independent nation.

The draft, however, under the advice of Adams, was so amended that the message in its first form asserted: "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers . . . With the existing colonies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." The document held no new position. The doctrine was not unexpected, nor unwelcome. Yet it was only an executive declaration. Congress did not act upon it, nor did a resolution offered by that American of Americans, Henry Clay, in January, 1824, "deprecating European combinations to resubjugate the independent American states of Spanish origin," ever pass the committee room. It was unnecessary. The whole country was with the president. It was the independent action of the United States through the chief executive, and was due to no foreign promptings or advice. The declaration of the position of the United States led to immediate denial of its validity by European powers. Great Britain, Russia, France, and the rest were at variance, from its first enunciation, with the Monroe Doctrine.

The "era of good feelings" was strained, not only by the great Missouri debate and its conclusion, but by the strife of political factions and the debate over the tariff of 1824. Personal politics were qualifying the high devotion of the

leaders to the general good. Parties, less than men, became for the time the rallying centres of popular following. The extension of suffrage rights played into the hands of political tricksters. Cliques and clubs, like "Tammany Society," were getting control of the lines of influence, and offices were being held for rewards to loyal henchmen. The Seventeenth Congress had been marked by intrigue. Monroe's last two years were years of rancorous personal contests arising from ambition among members of his Cabinet. The Eighteenth Congress addressed itself to a sharp contest over the question of the tariff.

This Congress was far in advance of its predecessor in the number and character of its members. It was the first under the new apportionment. It included men in the Senate like Lloyd of Massachusetts and Taylor of Virginia, and King and Macon among the elders, while Benton and Van Buren and Hayne spoke the temper of the younger men. In the House, the new life of the nation was more expressly set forth. Clay was there, more popular than before; Webster, after seven years of absence, was again present; so, too, was Randolph, as thin and satirical and fascinating as ever; Edward Livingston, the brilliant jurist of Louisiana, and Sam Houston, the roistering frontiersman of Tennessee, furnished two wholly unlike types of men from the Southwest, suggestive of both its real culture and its wealth of raw material. Clay was elected Speaker by an overwhelming majority. He pressed to the front, as its chief exponent, the "American system." This included the two domestic issues of internal improvements under national patronage, which for the present was laid aside until after the approaching election, and tariff for protection of home industries. The slow yielding of New England to the young-industries argument saw Massachusetts hesitating in 1820 and 1824, while the Middle and Western States gave it hearty support. The South was gradually realizing that its products, save indigo and sugar, demanded freedom of trade. The farmers raised the cry of "monopoly."

Webster joined with Randolph in favoring free trade. But the House was committed to protection, and the bill, after a ten weeks' debate, was carried by one hundred and five to one hundred and two, and in the Senate by twenty-five to twenty-two. The result was qualified protection. It is significant that in the debates over the bill of 1820 no mention was made of the Missouri question, though the South saw that the slave and the factory were not akin, nor in the debate of 1824 did the votes divide on party lines so much as on lines of products. The candidates for the presidency favored protection, and Clay had for his support Crawford, Jackson, and Adams. The opposition of New England was natural. Iron, wool, cotton bagging, and hemp got the larger benefit from the Act. Their protection aided the Middle and Western States, while the heavier duties on hemp and iron injured the shipbuilders of the East. In the South, sectionalized economics was soon to produce sectionalized politics, but for the time there was quiet. Yet, as long as the president, a slaveholder, continued to recommend in his annual messages—1821 and 1822—the protection of manufactures as the true national policy for industrial independence, we are forced to believe that he and others from the South did not clearly connect the slave system and the industrial future of the Union.

The quarter of a century which closed with the last year of the administration of Monroe was marked by a series of decisions enunciated by Chief Justice John Marshall which, more than any other one cause, made possible a strong central government and a policy of national impulsion, direction, and control in the development of the American people. A review, however condensed, of Marshall's decisions is necessary to any correct understanding of the constitutional progress of the United States in its formative period. In the very year of the Louisiana Purchase, he grasped a fundamental principle in the *Marbury versus Madison* case; to wit, that the judicial department may determine the constitutionality of a legislative Act, and may declare it

void if found repugnant to the Constitution. In 1805, in his decision between the United States and Fisher, he concluded that the United States had preference over other creditors of a bankrupt, and that therefore the Act of Congress giving the United States the preference was constitutional. In 1809, in the case of the United States *versus* Peters, he decided that a Federal tribunal is independent of State legislation in a case of constitutional construction. In 1809 and in 1816, in the case of Fletcher *versus* Peck, twice before the Supreme Court, he decided that a repeal of a previous law by a State under which one might secure a grant of lands, was contrary to the Constitution, and no such repeal could invalidate a contract. The year 1819 was a famous year for the Supreme Court. The charter of Dartmouth College had been granted before the Revolution by the Crown of England. It suffered attacks from the New Hampshire legislature. The case came before the Supreme Court and achieved widespread celebrity, not only because Marshall sat on the bench, but because the brilliant Attorney-general Wirt had for antagonist the majestic Webster. Marshall cited no cases in his decision and relied upon no authority, but concluded that contracts were not to be impaired by legislative acts. The same term the case of *Sturges versus Crowninshield* was settled by a decision that the act of the New York legislature in attempting to discharge preëxisting debts was unconstitutional. The case of *McCulloch versus Maryland*, 1819, is unsurpassed in its importance and delicacy of handling by any that came before the court in Marshall's day. Maryland had laid a tax upon a branch of the United States Bank, and this action was declared to be in contravention of the power of the Federal government and therefore void. The State attacked the constitutionality of the Federal law chartering the Bank. The seriousness of the situation may be seen when it is recalled that the court permitted more than two counsel on each side. Webster, Wirt, and Pinkney were set against Martin, Hopkinson, and Jones. Webster opened the argument. Pinkney

answered Martin in a speech lasting three days, "the greatest I ever heard," said Story. Marshall concluded that the Bank was constitutional, and also that while the Court did not in terms prohibit a State from taxing the Bank, yet as the power to tax might be used to destroy, therefore the State had no right to pass such a law. The effort to nullify this position led to a violent opposition which ran its course in Ohio, but to no purpose. The State succumbed. In 1821, the case of *Cohens versus Virginia* resulted in a decision that the Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction, whether the parties be a State or a citizen of a State. In the steamboat case of 1824, between Gibbons and Ogden, it was decided that New York had no authority to grant a monopoly for navigating the waters of the State with steam vessels, Congress having power to regulate commerce. Other cases settled after this date make the remainder of our period luminous with the display of a great and sober mind's interpretation of the legal provisions for the expansion and the strengthening of the national life. The purity of motive and the integrity of character in all his decisions were of such common knowledge that the following incident will best illustrate the awe in which even great men stood of Marshall. After the trial of Burr, Wirt was asked why he had not told Judge Marshall that the people of America demanded a correction. "Tell *him* that!" said Wirt. "I would as soon have gone to Herschel and told him that the people of America insisted that the moon had horns as a reason why he should draw her with them."

In appearance he was of all aristocrats the most democratic, as Jefferson was the most aristocratic of Democrats. The son of Josiah Quincy visited him, as not to do so was to be nobody, and found him the simplest of men, never troubling himself about dignity, and with the simple tastes and ready sympathies of a child. Quincy mentions the peculiar brilliancy of his eyes. Pinkney declared he was born to be the chief justice of any country into which Providence should have cast him. For thirty-five years this

marvellous expounder of the Constitution, covering with his career the years from January 31, 1801, to his death, an era in which the rapid expansion of his nation in territory and of growth in every particular that affects a nation's prestige afforded him an opportunity to which none other has fallen heir, stamped his mind upon the thinking of lawyers and pointed out to the common people the path for the future. He was only one of seven judges, but "his majestic intellect and the elevation of his character gave him such an ascendancy that he found himself only once in a minority on any constitutional question." Thus Professor Bryce regards him. The same clear-headed Englishman further reflects upon the decisions of Marshall, so sane, that through his use of legal principles "the Constitution seemed not so much to rise under his hands to its full stature, as to be gradually unveiled by him till it stood revealed in the harmonious perfection of the form which its framers had designed." Marshall never ceased his contention that the supremacy of the Federal judiciary over State courts in matters of constitutional construction and its independence of State legislation were basal features of the Federal system.

The younger men, for whose guidance the great judge was explaining the meaning of the older men, were not anxious to break with the past, yet they did not decline the overtures of the future. The prospect was too inviting not to be saluted with something more characteristic of the national life than fair words. The spirit of the young leaders was at once a reflection of the popular will and an enkindler of like passion for progress. While the Supreme Court was defining the powers of the national government, securing it against all legal assault, coincident with this silent welding of the bonds between the States, the people were taking a free hand in the affairs of government. These two,—judicial decisions and popular demonstration of will went forward in copartnership such as was possible nowhere else on earth. They were under a strange compulsion to go thus together. The very essence of a great popular

republic lay in the fact that the people should recognize their rights, should share in government, and develop a vigorous political interest in the march of events. The Supreme Court was not intended to absorb all power, to do the thinking for the people, and to chloroform their exercise of political privilege. The golden mean was well described by Marshall in September, 1831, when replying to a welcome from the Philadelphia bar. He might claim for himself and his associates that they "had never sought to enlarge the judicial power beyond its proper bounds, nor feared to carry it to the fullest extent that duty required." The people were expected to enjoy all the privileges falling to a democratic form of government, especially in legislation. They, through their representatives, were called upon to help to ensure the perpetuity of the national life. Citizenship meant so much, without doubt.

CHAPTER IX

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND PARTICULARISM UNDER ADAMS

THE closing of Monroe's administration and the opening of that of John Quincy Adams were made brilliant by the grand tour of the nation's honored guest, General Lafayette, who, after forty years' absence, landed at New York on the 15th of August, 1824. The gallant Frenchman was astonished at the tumult of joy with which city and hamlet everywhere, men, women, and children, high official and lowborn slave, cheered him along what appeared to the onlooker to be a real triumphal procession. For a year and two months the American people gave him reason to exclaim, as he pressed his hands to his heart: "It will burst!" The affection with which the nation arose to greet Lafayette was genuine and enthusiastic. He gazed with a youth's delight on fairy balls in his honor, and in the far West he sat with his old companion, Red Jacket, at the rude camp fire. He saluted pretty damsels with a kiss, and set old men so wild with boyish delight that they ran by the side of his carriage. In his *Figures of the Past*, Quincy, a close observer, says: "Never was the benefactor of a people awarded a homage so universal, so spontaneous, so heartfelt, so intelligent," and he tells the story of the craze which possessed even staid Boston. Dr. Bowditch, the celebrated mathematician, halted on some steps in Washington Street, on his way to the office, waiting for the throng to pass by. But the moment he saw Lafayette, he lost all control of himself. When he recovered his consciousness he was with

the crowd, struggling and shouting by the side of the barouche at the top of his voice. Lafayette graced with his presence the great day on which Webster delivered his oration at Bunker Hill, the 17th of June, 1825. Early in his tour he visited Washington, and became the guest of Congress, which voted him two hundred thousand dollars, and a township of public lands. One may well mark the vast significance of this free-handed welcome, for when Lafayette landed in the hard old days to offer his services to the anxious patriots, he found them hugging the salt water, poor, and in desperate strait. Now they had crossed the Mississippi River and numbered ten millions of people. He was sent home in the *Brandywine*, named in his honor for the battle in which he had taken such valorous part, and commanded by Charles Morris, a naval hero of the late war.

In turning from the honors done to Lafayette, which Jefferson said seemed likely to obscure all other matters, we pass from the frankness of the open air to the deception of subterranean intrigue, when we consider the schemes of the candidates for the suffrages of the American people. The growth of the Republicans after 1816 was inevitable. Only Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware had voted against Monroe and Tompkins in 1816, but in 1820 they also at last yielded and became, nominally at least, Republican States. A few unchangeables among the Federalists still denounced the Republican party as managed by "John Holmes (a Congressman from Maine), Felix Grundy, and the devil." The majority professed themselves "Federalist-Republicans," but this announcement was based upon "a surrender at discretion, and not a conversion." For the "era of good feelings" was only a sham. The powerful Republican party held in its own life the elements of a new party tending to the extreme of a broad construction of the Constitution. The great debate upon the Missouri Compromise brought this fact out into high relief, and the delusion of a happy family disappeared in 1824. The presidential contest of 1824 was not mainly one of party principles.

All the candidates were Republican-Democrats. The leading figure in the contest, John Quincy Adams, as secretary of state, had a precedent which in the case of John Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, had inured to their further elevation. From boyhood he had been under training for public duties. In every capacity he had shown himself the patriot. His sense of personal and official honor, his austere and almost rude exclusion of measures from his consideration and of men from his confidence, if such course was necessary to the accomplishment of his ends, did not tend to make him popular. Had his personality been as attractive as his character was sterling he might have served his country two terms, instead of merely worrying through one. Another candidate was William H. Crawford, of Georgia. He possessed a giant frame, was of some reputation as a statesman, and had, with his large wealth and not too scrupulous use of means to serve his ambition, fair hopes of gaining the presidential nomination. In 1820, he fathered an Act by which the term of treasury officials was limited to four years, tending thereby to render the civil service a cat's paw for partisan politics. He and Van Buren were political friends. Having secured the nomination of the Congressional caucus, the last in American history, though a majority of its members absented themselves from the meeting, he claimed to be the "regular" candidate. But his days, after the summer of 1823, were numbered, as a crushing palsy made him bedridden. Two other candidates with less hopes of the nomination were Clay and Calhoun, both of the South, both loyal to the core to the ideas of the expanding nation, and both believers in its glowing prospects. Clay was forty-seven, and Calhoun forty-two. Clay was the free liver, Calhoun a puritan like Adams, Clay the moving orator with his voice of silvery sweetness, and Calhoun a logician of foremost rank. These two with Webster made a trio around whose fame in the second quarter of the century memory has drawn a charmed circle. Last but

not least in the "race for the presidency" was Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans. Jackson cannot be described in a sentence. Of chameleon temper, fearless, loyal to his country, and to his friends, whose patriotism he often judged by their loyalty to him, of virtue equal to his valor, wilful and unbending, regardless of laws that conflicted with his will, popular though dictatorial, unscrupulous and given to bitter hatreds, a soldier and not a statesman, quick to reach a conclusion and inflexible in its retention, rough and yet tender, he presented the spectacle of the double character of the section which he represented. He was an epitome of the West. Jackson's health was not the best, and his age was telling on him, he being at the time fifty-seven years of age. His masterful temper bred him many enemies, yet he had a shouting host of friends who backed him against the world. In intellectual ability he was not to be compared with Webster and Calhoun. Adams and Calhoun were warm friends, the New Englander writing in that wonderful diary of his, October, 1821, of the South Carolina leader as follows: "A man of fair and candid mind, of honorable principles, of clear and quick understanding, of cool self-possession, of enlarged philosophical views, and of ardent patriotism." Calhoun had not the petty scruples that marked the Virginia bias of Wirt for strict construction. Crawford was the most pronounced "State rights" man of the candidates. Clay leaned the other way, while Jackson stood between the extremists. The best trained man of all for the presidential office was Adams, and he was the natural candidate of the North, yet the remnants of the old Federalism could not forget what they called his apostasy of 1807, and he could not rely upon their enthusiastic support.

The method of bringing the military hero to the front of attention in 1824 and securing his election, not in the campaign of 1824, but in that of 1828, is clearly stated by his admirer, Parton. There was no such thing as a spontaneous enthusiasm started by an unknown mechanic in a

western village of Pennsylvania, whence it was borne along the crest of the Alleghanies and down the valley of the Mississippi and out to the Atlantic coast. Quite otherwise, indeed. The election of 1824 had been pending nearly the whole of Monroe's second term. There was no lack of candidates. Hezekiah Niles, in April, 1822, noted sixteen names of men willing or anxious to be lifted to the highest office in the land. There was much opposition to the old method of nomination by Congressional caucus, though in 1816, as the caucus nominee had popular approval, there had been little outspoken objection. In 1820, no caucus was necessary. As time wore on, Crawford was thought to have the backing of the president, and as this gave him a large partisan following, the other candidates naturally objected and sought other means of getting their names before the American people than one which would favor a semi-official candidate. Jackson was violently opposed to the system of nominating by Congressional caucus. The man to whom, by his own statement, Jackson owed his strength in the campaign of 1824 and his elevation to the presidency in 1828, was Major William B. Lewis, of Nashville, who combined with a really disinterested friendship the farsightedness and the patience of a truly great campaign manager. Jackson was elected Senator in 1823 for the term of six years. During the discussion of the tariff question in the winter of 1823-1824, a Dr. Coleman, of Virginia, was induced by Lewis to interrogate Jackson as to his views. The letter in reply was a shrewd document, and proved a worthy file leader of kindred begetters of public confidence in the "man of destiny." Jackson was a tariff man, and this fact earned him friends among the patrons of protection, and as for others, his frank and bold spirit made ample amends for any political heterodoxy. Early announcements of his name for the presidency do not seem to have been taken by the old soldier with seriousness. Letters which he had written to Monroe six or seven years before, and which afterward won him favor, were not given to the

public until May, 1824, so they could not have laid the foundation of a combination between Jackson and the Federalists, though in his native State his name began to be mentioned soon after he resigned his office as Governor of Florida in 1821. In January, 1822, the *Nashville Gazette* proclaimed the general as its candidate for the presidency. On July 20, 1822, the Tennessee legislature formally nominated their chief citizen for the presidency of the nation. On November 18th of the same year the legislature of Kentucky presented the name of Henry Clay to the public. Stanwood errs in saying that Clay had the first formal nomination. "King Caucus," as the title went in derision, was doomed. The people were to be heard from with increasing vehemence. Early in 1824, Adams was presented by nearly all the legislatures of New England. Calhoun was the choice of South Carolina, but was withdrawn in time to make sure of the vice-presidency; being young enough he believed he could wait for the higher office. Crawford had the backing of Virginia.

The history of the conflict between the central power and the people for the right to nominate presidential candidates is interesting enough to follow to its end. On May 23, 1823, the New York legislature passed a resolution in favor of the caucus as "less liable to be influenced by those sectional jealousies against which the Father of his Country has so solemnly and justly cautioned us." Shortly afterward, the legislature of Tennessee instructed its members to prevent such a gathering, and sent in circular form its resolve to all the other States, only one of which, Maryland, showed it any favor in its legislative action. Governor Troup, of Georgia, petulantly remarked that "caucus" was not a word in good use, and hoped it would never appear in the dictionary. A hint as to the method later adopted came from the Democrats of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: "We believe the best and most unexceptionable method to be a convention of delegates from all the States of the Union." The caucus was called for the 14th of February, 1824, but



Roger Brooke Taney.

After the portrait in the Department of Justice, Washington.

only sixty-six members met in the Hall of Representatives. Crawford received sixty-four votes and Gallatin, lately returned from France, was put on the ticket with him. The East did not favor Jackson for the head of the ticket, but agreed that "Adams and Jackson" might not sound ill. As to the chances of Jackson, a letter of Webster to his brother Ezekiel is highly significant. "General Jackson's manners are more presidential than those of any of the candidates. He is grave, mild, and reserved. My wife is for him decidedly." Calhoun had relied upon the support of Pennsylvania, but that State gave its warmest hand to the tall chieftain from the South. The anti-caucus votes were generally cast for Calhoun for vice-president. Of the popular votes cast for the leading candidates, Jackson received one hundred and fifty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine; Adams, one hundred and five thousand three hundred and twenty-one; Crawford, forty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-five; and Clay, forty-seven thousand and eighty-seven. The effort to test the result by a comparison of the total popular vote cast for each candidate is misleading. For in only five States were votes cast for all the four candidates, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Alabama, and Illinois; in six others for three, New Jersey, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, Ohio, and Indiana; in seven for two, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, North Carolina, and Kentucky; and in six States, Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, the legislatures chose the electors. A close study of the votes cast fails to reveal "the will of the people." The six States last mentioned contained more than one-fourth of the whole population of the country.

In the Electoral College, Jackson had ninety-nine votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. Clay was not eligible to be voted for in the election, which now devolved upon the House. Yet he had a large influence, and his support was much sought after. As

the charge of a "corrupt bargain" with Clay was not allowed to rest for many years, it will not be amiss to examine its basis. There was excitement and running to and fro among the friends of the candidates. On January 28, 1825, a letter appeared in the *Columbian Observer*, of Philadelphia, stating, among other things, "For some time past, the friends of Clay have hinted that they, like the Swiss, would fight for those who would pay best." This drew from the fiery Kentuckian a hot denial, in which he denounced the writer as "a dastard and a liar." A member from Pennsylvania, George Kremer, avowed the authorship of the letter and affirmed the truth of its statements, but the matter was dropped. It may be noted that at the expiration of his term Kremer was reëlected. As Crawford was out of the race, Clay held the balance of power and could secure the nomination for the candidate of his choice. That there should not have been any effort to secure his strong aid for either of the two candidates would be to consider a situation entirely unlike the real one, which gave to the enemies of both Clay and Adams heavy cudgels for the rest of their lives. In November, before leaving home, Clay had told friends that he would not support Jackson. In his *Thirty Years' View*, Senator Benton tells us that on the 15th of December Clay informed him that he would support Adams. In the *Diary* of Adams, we see allusions to the strain of the days preceding the election in the House, but there is no evidence of anything more than the feeling of the austere Puritan that he was walking amid perils, or, as he expressed it after a visit from a friend of Clay during which he was noncommittal: *Incedo super ignes*. There was no proof of a corrupt bargain or of any sort of bargain. The election in the House gave Adams the presidency on the first ballot. On the next day, the president-elect announced that Clay was his choice for secretary of state. That he should have had his eye on Clay, the ablest man in the West, is not to be wondered at, even if the wisdom of selecting him, in view of the charges of intrigue, may be held in question.

Jackson attended a reception on the day after the election, in even better temper and with finer grace than the New Englander. But he soon gave publicity to his belief of an "unholy coalition" between the president and the secretary of state. In a letter, three years afterward, he gave the name of James Buchanan as his informant. On Clay's indignant denial, Buchanan wrote that the general was without information from him. Parton says: "No charge was ever more groundless . . . none was ever more completely refuted." Sargent, in his *Public Men and Events*, gives the words of a speech which Adams delivered at Maysville, Kentucky, some years afterward, in which he most emphatically denied the charges of intrigue affecting the character of Mr. Clay: "I will in the presence of Omnipotence pronounce them false." But the defeat rankled in the bosom of Jackson, and to his dying day he clung to the belief that he, the people's choice, had been robbed of the presidency. Aside from his personal convictions, this made a rallying cry for the next four years. The people had triumphed over the caucus. In support of Jackson they had practically pitted themselves against the Constitution. Benton's emphasis upon the "Demos-Krateo" principle lacked nothing of sound, even though it parted company with sense.

Five days after the election of Adams, Jackson had branded Clay as "the Judas of the West." Though, outwardly, Jackson appeared unmoved, yet he now and then showed that he was deeply grieved over the event. On the evening of the inauguration, the same in which he had greeted the president with self-contained grace, he said, with emotion, to a friend, Colonel Duane: "You know how I must feel." His return home to the Hermitage was in the nature of a continuous triumph. There he was left for a while, to translate into terms of personal dislike every political theory that separated an opponent from himself.

What was true of Jackson was in a measure true of other leaders. Personal differences now began to result in party

divisions. The nationalism of Adams and Clay had its counterpart in the growing particularism of men like Van Buren, Calhoun, and Randolph. The administrationists were soon termed National Republicans, and the anti-administrationists, the Democratic party. They drew apart upon gradually defined issues.

The first word of the incoming president upon the right and the need of governmental interest in the "accomplishment of works important to the whole, to which neither the authority nor the resources of any one State can be adequate," gave his enemies ground for clamor. Randolph was loud in opposition. "The ruling member of the Adams family" was the title given the new president by the satirical Virginian, who could not forget or forgive the fact that when a lad attending the inauguration of the first vice-president, John Adams, he and his brother "were spurned by the coachman of the vice-president for coming too near the arms emblazoned on the escutcheon of the vice-regal carriage." But Adams could not be swerved from his purpose to give the American people an administration in accordance with the theories for which he had so long stood. He would not conciliate anyone for his favor. He sternly refused to yield to the importunity of office seekers. His diary reveals his mind in such statements as this: "I see yet no reason sufficient to justify a departure from the principle with which I entered upon the administration, of removing no public officer for merely preferring another candidate for the presidency." He must have known that he had no good hopes of another election. He retained men in close relation to himself who worked against him. He had an able Cabinet. He had for secretary of state Henry Clay; for the treasury, Richard Rush, lately called home from the court of St. James; James Barbour, of Virginia, for the war department; James L. Southard, of New Jersey, for the navy; and William Wirt, for attorney-general. The postmaster-general, John McLean, of Ohio, he kept in his old place, though he must have known that he was not loyal.

He first offered the English mission to Clinton, of the opposition, but on his declining it he tendered it to the aged Rufus King, his only recognition to the older Federalism. While Jackson was being dined and made the central figure of every gathering that he entered, Adams trod a path full of thorny obstructions. The cry of "bargain and corruption" with which the Jackson men went to the country contained less of the spirit of Adams than any that could have been invented, but that mattered little if the people believed it.

A great engineering achievement marked the year 1825. The opening of the Erie Canal was hailed with unbounded delight even far from the borders of the State of New York. Ground had been broken at Rome, New York, on the 4th of July, 1817, in the presence of a great throng, and the deepest interest accompanied each successful stage of the work. General P. Schuyler before the close of the century had interested himself in the matter of locking the water through the Mohawk valley. He had hard work trying to convince the Dutch farmers along the proposed route of the desirability of the undertaking. At one place he spent the evening at a tavern in his usual style of debate with the conservative hard heads. No one was convinced, and the crowd dispersed. The general, unable to sleep, rose from his bed, lighted his candle afresh, took a knife and a few shingles and constructed a miniature canal of two levels, using the shingles for the lock. Then with a bucket of water in hand, he summoned the Dutchmen from their beds, and pouring the water into the little ditch, he locked a chip from the lower to the upper level. He had no more difficulty with the Dutchmen after that. In 1796, a canal had been built at Little Falls about two and three-fourths miles long. An extension followed, but the heavy tolls diverted freight to the land routes. In the summer of 1800, Gouverneur Morris journeyed to Lake Erie and in January, 1801, wrote his memorable prediction that large ships would yet "bound on the billows of these inland seas."

A canal survey was made in 1810. The year after, a commission was appointed with full powers to manage all matters relating to the navigation between the Hudson and the Lakes. Madison's veto in 1817 chilled their hopes. Yet New York went to work unaided by the general government. At the close of the war, De Witt Clinton pushed forward the enterprise with impetuous vigor, and in an able memorial converted thousands to the project. The giant proposition astounded men of more than ordinary vision. Jefferson considered it begun a century too soon. Clinton was abused as a monomaniac. But the end crowned the work. Labor did not cease from the day of beginning till the completion of it on the 26th of October, 1825. On that day there was intense excitement at Buffalo. Precisely at ten o'clock in the morning, the waters of Lake Erie were turned into the canal, and by the booming of cannon posted at intervals on the way the news reached New York in an hour and thirty minutes. The canal officials embarked on the *Seneca Chief* and arrived at New York November 4th amid music and the thunder of guns. Clinton then poured a keg of lake water which he had brought from the western mouth of the canal into the waters of the ocean at Sandy Hook. The day closed with pageants and rejoicing. And well it might, for by means of an artificial highway, forty feet wide, and four feet deep, boats carrying thirty or forty tons each could be drawn by horses or mules in slow but easy fashion. Freight on a ton of flour fell at once from one hundred dollars to ten. Pennsylvania and Ohio were stirred to like enterprises, and till the incoming of the railroads immense profits accrued from the canals.

A memorable landmark, of another sort, in the administration of Adams is July 4, 1826. While special ceremonies were being observed in the national capital, at which were read letters from John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, written with their own hands, both these great men died, exactly fifty years from the time they had signed the Declaration of Independence. The Southerner wrote the

paper of rights, while the Northerner was "the pillar of its support and its ablest advocate and defender," to use Jefferson's own language. Jefferson expired about noon, several hours before the departure of Adams. The strange coincidence was not lost upon the nation. Eulogy and grief and thanksgiving blended in all parts of the land. Faneuil Hall, Boston, was for the first time draped in black, and Webster spoke his praise of the two patriots in words that schoolboys have continually quoted throughout the country.

The matter of the recognition of the South American republics and their protection against European powers in which Adams had been so much interested during Madison's second term came up again in 1825. Colombia, Peru, Chili, Mexico, and the Republic of Colombia issued a call for a general assembly of American States "to serve as a council in conflicts, as a rallying-point in common dangers, as a faithful interpreter of treaties between their respective States, and as an umpire and conciliator in the disputes and differences which might arise between their respective States. To this Congress, which was to be held at Panama, the United States was invited. The plan had something attractive in it to such men as the president and his brilliant secretary of state. Had not Adams, when secretary of state, been the inspiration of the Monroe Doctrine, which breathed firm defiance of every form of foreign aggression? Had not Clay, with that quick enthusiasm for an oppressed race so characteristic of him, supported the motion of Webster in January, 1824, for sending an agent of the United States to Greece, fighting for her freedom? No question excited more heat and none cooled off more quickly than that of the Panama Mission. But while it lasted the collision between Adams and his opponents was fruitful of profound excitement and violent debate. After a verbal invitation through MM. Obregon and Salazar, the Mexican and the Colombian ministers at Washington, the South American republics extended a formal invitation to the United States to meet at

Panama in the fall of the year. By May, the president, urged by his zealous secretary, agreed to send representatives, and so announced it in his first message to Congress.

Before the close of the year, on December 26th, he made a more elaborate statement to the Senate of his plans for meeting delegates from South America, and appointed R. C. Anderson, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, as envoys extraordinary. Anderson soon died and Joel R. Poinsett, minister to Mexico, was appointed in his stead. But the president firmly declared that the United States must not be involved in the war between Spain and the South American States. The president was somewhat hasty, if not in his expression of favor of such a mission, at least in his blunt claim that the executive had the right to institute such a mission at discretion. This assumption of power was just such an opening as his enemies desired. The latent jingoism in the scheme was exaggerated by some into an unwise effort to unite all the Americas into a confederation against Europe, as represented in the "Holy Alliance," and by others as a plunge into "entangling alliances" which would leave the Southern States at the mercy of a possible association with the revolution-cursed Hayti with its record of negro supremacy at the expense of the murder of former masters. The debate on the Panama mission was one of the most acrimonious of the century. John Randolph blurted out objections which lay in the minds of some of the members from the South when he declared that the South would never have any sort of alliance with South American States whose idea of equality gave black men the same recognition as white men, and in whose armies there were mulatto generals in command. But Randolph was not, in his sarcasm at least, the true spokesman of Southern judgment. The South was nearly divided in the Senate upon the main question, nine voting for and twelve against sending delegates. Of Senators from the Northern States fifteen were for and seven opposed to the motion. Slavery was a present factor in the debate. Randolph said:

"You might as well try to hide a volcano in full operation; it cannot be hid." Robert Y. Hayne in the Senate declared: "With nothing connected with slavery can we consent to treat with other nations." And while Adams did not mention the slave trade or Hayti in his message, yet in the documents accompanying it they were mentioned as questions for deliberation at the Panama Congress.

The country was very generally in favor of the mission and the final vote of the Senate and the House ordered the appropriations for sending the envoys, but the representatives from the United States failed to appear until after the Congress had adjourned, and the matter ended in fiasco. "Seldom has a scheme which so earnestly engaged public attention, and of which so much was expected by our ablest statesmen, so signally disappointed all the hopes of its friends." The sequelæ of the fever were bitter feeling between the president and the Senate, a recollection on the part of some in Congress of having yielded against their will to the popular demand, and a duel between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph.

A noteworthy accompaniment of the affair was the statement on the part of the president of his view of the Monroe Doctrine. In his message of December 26, 1825, Adams said there would be an agreement between all parties at the meeting "that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders. This was, more than two years since, announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence." On March 15, 1826, he returned to the subject in a message to the House, in which he remarked that in the proposed engagement "our views would extend no further than to a mutual pledge of the parties in the compact, to maintain the principle in application to its own territory, and to permit no colonial lodgments or establishment of European

jurisdiction upon its own soil." It has been suggested that one of the reasons that moved the president and Mr. Clay to urge attendance upon the congress was that the United States might be able to express itself against any attempt of the South American States to seize Cuba and Porto Rico. Whatever the single or the combined reason, neutrality was at the time certainly a safe course in dealing with immature States. That the unbending president, in whose statesmanship there lurked the spirit of one of the old prophets, should have made his last message to the Senate and the House, March 3, 1829, an occasion for reference to the Panama Mission is of interest, for in it he said that while there was no probability of the renewal of negotiations, "the purposes for which they were intended are still of the deepest interest to our country and the world, and may hereafter call again for the active energies of the Government of the United States." The prescience of the reference is signalized by the fact that just before the shooting of President Garfield, he resolved to issue invitations to all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. On the 7th of July, 1884, an act was passed in harmony with the thought of the dead president, so far as to send commissioners to South America.

The president added to his difficulties by putting forward, at the time he was favoring the Panama Congress, his plan for internal improvements. In the first message in which he dwelt upon the mission to Panama, December 6, 1825, he took high ground, as far in advance of Mr. Clay now as Clay was in advance of him in the case of the mission, with regard to the unlimited power of the general government to construct roads and canals, build universities and observatories, and do all that might tend to the progress of the people. The legislature of Virginia protested against such announcement of national powers. In the Senate, the leader, Martin Van Buren, offered a resolution "that Congress does not possess the power to make roads and canals within the

respective States," and proposed an amendment to the Constitution defining more exactly the powers of the government in the matter of internal improvements. Adams did not push his views to conclusions with his opponents during the remaining years of his administration, but they lay in wait for his every movement.

The principal question tending to accentuate the growing difference of political theory between the two sections of the country, north and south of the line between the free and the slave States, was that of the tariff. The South was growing rich through extensive industry, the North richer still through intensive as well as extensive systems of labor. The planter had to have more room for the production of cotton and tobacco. The manufacturer had to rely upon machinery for his profits. The former viewed with alarm any restriction of his privilege of expansion, the latter was mainly concerned to secure such a measure of protection for the products of his loom as might make the investment of more capital a wise thing. No marked line of separation was noticeable in the years immediately after the war with Great Britain. But it was inevitable that some conflict over industrial rights should draw the line.

The protective movement had some slight strength before the opening of the century, but it was only with the tariff of 1816 that its principle was distinctly formulated, and not till 1818-1819 that it began to fill the popular mind with argument and prejudice. Even the 1816 tariff was of the class of movements of the preceding generation rather than of those which came after. The panic of 1819 caused a popular feeling in favor of protection. The prices of land and agricultural products declined. No one thought of raising the price of these by law. The collapse of factories on the other hand suggested a method of restoration by putting a protective tax upon goods made by other peoples. So strong a hold did the argument get upon the popular thought at this time that the momentum was sufficient to carry it through the debates of 1824 and 1828. The Middle

and Western States were the backbone of the protective movement. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky were agricultural and were the chief sufferers after being the chief gainers from inflation, in the dark days at the end of the second decade. In New England there was much opposition to the protective scheme. In her shipping interests she had reason for dislike of the plan to bar out foreign goods. Neither did she like the rate put on articles such as hemp and iron, needed by her for her shipbuilding. Yet by 1820 the tide was turning in the East toward the interests of the factory, and tremendous progress was made between 1820 and 1830 by the manufacturers. Massachusetts was in a hesitating mood in 1820. It seemed uncertain whether to accept the hand of the shipowner or that of the manufacturer. Even in 1824, in the debate over the tariff, Randolph rejoiced that "Massachusetts and Virginia are once again rallying under the same old banner." Webster fought in the same line with Philip Pendleton Barbour, of Virginia, and Churchill C. Cambreleng, of New York, and demonstrated the destructive effects of a high tariff upon agriculture and commerce and upon the existing manufacturing interests themselves. Barbour, if not the first, was among the first to announce the doctrine that protection and slavery were hostile interests.

The South opposed with increasing vigor the system of protection. Having favored it in 1816, and drawn off in 1820, possibly through the tangle created by the discussion of the Missouri question, she more and more feared that the trade in her chief staple, cotton, might be injured by a possible retaliatory tariff ordered by Great Britain to exclude American cotton. If it is noted that in the debates and voting of 1824, the names of Adams, Crawford, Jackson, and Clay are found among the advocates of protection, it is only a significant illustration of a candidate's eagerness to become the exponent of a popular feeling.

In 1828, Massachusetts stood for high protection, and the South was falling into a line of uncompromising opposition.

Why, then, were the Jackson men led to speak and vote for the bill of 1828? Too many voters in the great States were crying for protection is the sufficient answer. Had the Jackson men been as confident of the mighty undercurrent of popular feeling which was to prove an irresistible force for Jackson himself, aside from all other considerations, they would not have thought it well to challenge the Adams men to a test of friendship for domestic industries. They evidently feared to risk what they could easily have dared. While the bill was not an administration measure, strictly speaking, Clay pushed it in the face of the anti-Adams coalition as a political issue. Politics now played a great part in the struggle. The complexion of the Twentieth Congress was not favorable to the administration, for the elections had given the Democrats the opportunity to place in the Speaker's chair Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, who willingly advanced the interests of his faction.

The tariff bill of 1827 passed the House, but the casting vote of the vice-president, Calhoun, caused it to fail of passage in the Senate. Defeat aroused the protectionists to renewed efforts, and at a general convention in the summer of 1827 at Harrisburg, manufacturers, editors, and a few politicians formulated a plan for securing from the next session of Congress a bill of wider scope than before contemplated. An increasing rate of two and a half cents annually was to be put on wool until it should reach fifty cents a pound. This was prohibitive of importations. When the Speaker, in the session of 1827-1828, made up the Committee on Manufactures, a majority of its eight members were friends of Jackson. Rollin C. Mallary, of Vermont, of the minority, was chairman of the committee. The majority, led by Silas Wright, Jr., of New York, refused to make the Harrisburg Memorial the basis of a bill.

After hearing from other memorials and more than three-score petitions, of which thirty-two opposed an increase of duties, they reported on the 31st of January a tariff bill, in itself a political trick, which, after acrimonious debate, was

passed by the House by a vote of one hundred and nine to ninety-one, and by the Senate by a vote of twenty-six to twenty-one. In a speech of Calhoun's, nine years later, he defended the course of his partisans, giving the credit of the scheme to Silas Wright. The committee's policy was that of placing high duties as well upon raw materials, which New England wanted low, as upon manufactured goods, to satisfy the manufacturers both in New England and the Middle States. No amendments were to be allowed. Those who devised the bill planned to use it as a club against the administration and a weapon by which Jackson's interests might be advanced. They believed that though the Jackson men from the North should support the bill, enough Adams men in general and New England men in particular would aid them in defeating it. It would then appear how much the administration had lost, and yet the Jackson men could make their appeal to their constituents, whether sincere or not it little mattered, that they had been staunch friends of the "interests of the people." The committee fully expected the bill would not pass.

But the men from the East voted for the bill with all its "abominations." Its fashioners failed of their purpose by a small margin. The final vote showed that if six New England men who voted for the bill had voted in the negative, it would have been lost. As it was, sixty-one Adams men and forty-four Jackson men voted for, and thirty-five Adams men and fifty-nine Jackson men opposed it. Webster was in doubt for a week before the final test, and at the last voted in the affirmative. It may be questioned if such mingling of personal prejudice and sectional jealousy, of partisan loyalty and industrial hopes, has attended the passage of any other tariff bill through Congress. Massachusetts claimed all her men for Adams; two voted "yea" and eleven "nay." Connecticut counted all her men for Adams; four voted "yea" and two "nay." New York's representation stood sixteen for Adams and eighteen for Jackson; twenty-seven voted for and six against the bill.

Pennsylvania had six Adams men and twenty Jackson men; all of them voted for the bill. Virginia had six men for Adams and sixteen for Jackson; of these, three favored the bill and fifteen opposed it. North Carolina with four for Adams and none for Jackson cast all her votes against the bill. South Carolina with nine for Jackson, cast not a single vote for the bill. Kentucky had four for Adams and eight for Jackson, and gave all for the bill. Georgia with seven for Jackson cast all her votes against the bill. This analysis reveals more clearly than general statements the steadily growing feeling in the South that it had become necessary to consolidate her forces against the protection of the industries in which her own system of slave labor made it impossible to hope to rival the North. Politics so strongly affected the passage of the Tariff of Abominations that John Randolph's remark after the vote, that "the bill referred to manufactures of no sort or kind, except the manufacture of a president of the United States," described much of the purpose of the combination against Adams, yet the interpreter of the drift of sentiment will not find it hard to discover on the part of the leaders of Southern thought and policy a settled determination to close in together for self-preservation. When Robert Y. Hayne, in the course of the debate, was told by an opponent to set up factories in the South he replied that slave labor was not a sufficient basis for the project. Benton said that the South saw the North passing her in wealth; from her rival she was compelled to borrow money, and in part she attributed the necessity of so doing to the tariff. George McDuffie's speech on the tariff of 1828 sounded the note that the South was to strike so often when he declared that protective tariffs would introduce the political debauchery of old Rome and by such measures would subvert the liberties of the people and destroy the Republic. Webster declared that New England had not been a leader in this policy, and had reluctantly accepted the patronage of the government, but after having fitted her people for manufacturing operations,

she was not now at liberty to throw away the advantage forced upon her, and which had now become a fixed governmental policy.

Thus we have the legislative anomaly of a bill for which no legitimate majority could be secured, and for which, as a whole, neither party and no section was unanimous. Its "abominations" were in evidence. The duty on hemp was raised from thirty-five to sixty dollars a ton. The duty on coarse wool was more than doubled. Every possible use was made of the enormities of the bill to arouse the cotton-producing States. The struggle over the tariff revealed the contrast between the South and the North even more than that over the National Bank and internal improvements. What Von Holst calls the *Thirty Years' Tariff War*, lasting from 1816 to 1846, finds its key in the industrial conditions of the South. Adams, too, had not been successful in his tactless negotiations with Great Britain, for though he gained some good commercial treaties, he lost the very important trade with the British West Indies in his failure to meet promptly the demands of Great Britain. Yet the blame must be shared by Congress, which never lost an opportunity to cross the purposes of Adams. All in all, the South feared that now, with the immense profits accruing to the factory, decline would come upon the farm, and especially the cotton fields. In the South men began to include the Tariff Act and the Stamp Act of 1765 in a common opprobrium and to whisper of disunion. The *Charleston Mercury*, of June 30th, noted the exasperation of the people as "beyond measure," and declared that "bonfires and rejoicings" would be the expression of a majority in the South over a proposition of the Southern delegates to secede. That the tariff question loomed large is sufficiently shown in the letter of Calhoun to Duff Green of the *Washington Telegraph*, July 1st, in which he wrote that "the rights of the Southern States have been destroyed and must be restored—that the union is in danger and must be saved." The bitter humor of the



Andrew Jackson.

Full-length portrait by F. A. Vanderlyn, painted in 1815, now in the City Hall, Charleston, South Carolina.

hour is set forth in a toast of the Fourth of July, 1828, in South Carolina: "The hemp of Kentucky—better suited for cravats for the Kentuckians and tariffites than for the covering of South Carolina cotton." The growing excitement was not due to ignorance. Dr. Thomas Cooper, a rare scholar, president of South Carolina College, was eager for disunion; McDuffie was ready for an appeal to arms; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney at one dinner proposed the following toast: "Southern rights and Northern avarice. When the Constitution is degraded to destroy the one and support the other, resistance is a virtue."

The climax of the assertion of the right of a State to resist the government was reached in the passage at arms between the president and the governor of Georgia. The administration of Adams had inherited the problem of the peaceable removal of the Indians from Georgia from the time of Jefferson. In 1802, Georgia had ceded her western lands to the government on condition that "as soon as it can be done in a peaceful way and on reasonable conditions," the United States should remove from the territory of Georgia the Creeks and the Cherokees, partly civilized tribes, and enjoying treaty rights with the United States. The federal administration was, as it conceived, under obligation not to coerce the tribes, and these would not voluntarily make cession of their lands. The State grew impatient. Every added delay increased the difficulty of transferring the Indians to the West. In the year 1824, the Cherokees declared that they would sell no more lands. In the same year these children of the woods lifted up feeble hands of entreaty to the government, pleading the uncertainty of their ability to retain what little good they had achieved if they were to be forced to move toward the setting sun and face harsh nature and their own fiercer kindred, so that they could see only extermination as the alternative of a regression to savagery.

George M. Troup, a typical Hotspur, was the governor of the State, and led by him, Georgia demanded that the

old contract of 1802 be kept, even if the Indians had to be expelled by force. The growing conviction of the Cherokees that they were an independent nation was evidence to the Georgians that the government had not impressed upon the Indians the temporary character of their stay in the State, and the administration was charged with making peaceful acquisition an impossibility. The federal government was requested to take immediate steps to remove the Indians. The chiefs of the Lower Creeks favored removal to the West, but they were antagonized by the Upper Creeks. On February 12, 1825, a treaty was signed by commissioners of the United States at Indian Springs, the chief of the Lower Creeks, McIntosh, agreeing to it. But as he was not backed by the whole nation, bad faith was charged upon the commissioners, both of them citizens of Georgia. The treaty put into the hands of the United States all the Creek possessions in the State of Georgia and several million acres in Alabama. Though the treaty was ratified by Congress the Creeks rebelled, and after killing their chief, sent a delegation to see the president. Mr. Adams believed that the treaty was not made in good faith, and yet he was also convinced that some obligations had been assumed by the government, and as rumors of difficulty came to his ears, he sent General Gaines with troops to the scene of trouble. The general found himself in collision with Governor Troup. A bitter correspondence ensued, in which both the general and the governor were to blame, but when the impetuous Georgian called upon his fellow citizens to "stand by their arms" to resist the United States officials at any cost, and said that "President Adams makes the Union tremble on a bauble," he revealed the heart of the prevalent discontent. Troup had ordered a hasty survey of the lands about to be vacated, but this project was held in abeyance. When the president became convinced of the spuriousness of the treaty of 1825, he ordered a new one, which was ratified by the Senate in 1826, by which an immense area was ceded by

the Creeks. This measure quieted the feverish pulse of the State, but when the State again attempted a survey for immediate settlement, and the president interposed, Troup called out the militia, February 17, 1827. The same day he sent a letter of defiance to the secretary of war. The result of a hot debate in Congress was the humiliation of the president, the majority being willing to veil the powers of the Constitution in order to baffle the chief executive. The ultimate settlement of the claims of the State to all Indian lands within its borders fell to the lot of the successor of Adams, and by this settlement the Cherokees were deported to their reservation. In the meantime Congress took sides with the State, as it passed oppressive and restrictive laws against the Cherokees. State jurisdiction in Indian reservations was upheld by a close vote as against that of the nation in Congress.

The opposition party to Adams was organized mainly by Calhoun and his friends, though Randolph and Thomas H. Benton were master spirits in the art of blocking the path of the president. Randolph had always opposed internal improvements. Calhoun had been a strong advocate of protection as a national policy; Benton had favored protection and internal improvements; so the leaders were at variance. Nevertheless, they were united in one thing: to pull down the administration was in their dreams and waking ambition; "at all hazards," as Calhoun remarked to Joseph McIlvaine; while according to a more emotional obstructionist, R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, "if they act as pure as the angels that stand at the right hand of the throne of God, we'll pull them down."

President Adams was made to feel the "rancorous spirit" of his opponents to the last day of his term. They never desisted. Whatever falsehood and hate could do was done to unseat him. Every incident of the day was turned to his undoing. For example: in 1826, one William Morgan, of western New York, a Mason, was aggrieved because he was not allowed representation as a charter member of a

new lodge, and threatened to expose the secrets of the order, and began to print a book with the help of a printer named David Miller. Morgan was arrested, but being released, was kidnapped and taken down Niagara River to old Fort Niagara and immured in the stone magazine, since which time no trace has ever been found of him. Miller also suffered at the hands of the brotherhood, and in a rage published the story and scattered abroad the seeds of what came to be a tremendous suspicion and dislike of the Masonic order in New England, in western New York, and sections affected by emigration from these parts. A new party, the Anti-Masonic, was formed, which ran its short course. Adams was charged with being a Mason. He was not, but refused to deny the allegation, saying bitterly that his enemies would forge fictitious lodge records to prove him so.

The defeat of Adams in 1828 was fated in 1825. The name of his successor was easily prophesied, though some of Adams's friends professed to believe that he had some chance of reëlection. In the elections of 1828, Andrew Jackson received six hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-six and Adams five hundred and eight thousand and sixty-four votes. In the electoral college Jackson had one hundred and seventy-eight and Adams eighty-three votes. John C. Calhoun entered upon his second vice-presidential term, but now allied with the man who was soon to be his bitter foe. As Mr. Adams left the presidential office he wrote in melancholy spirit: "I go into it [private life] with a combination of parties and public men against my character and reputation such as I believe never before was exhibited against any man since this Union existed."

CHAPTER X

ANDREW JACKSON—THE MAN

THE third and fourth decades of the century will ever remain a puzzle unless one understands the man at the head of affairs. The United States has never had a president whose executive tasks and character, whose public policy and personality have been so inextricably intertwined. Whatever else the seventh president of the United States was, he was out of the ordinary, both to friend and to foe. There must have been something very rare in the tall old soldier to lead men to say he was the "greatest man that ever lived," and something very strong about him to deserve the title "despot and demagogue."

Andrew Jackson came of Scotch-Irish stock, from which most material and significant fruitage has been garnered in the history of the first century of the nation's life,—stock of real manhood, with its love of adventure and love of home, daring, resolute, shrewd, persistent, reckless, capable of enterprise, eccentric, wilful, religious, patriotic, good at hate, nobly ambitious. Sometimes all these characteristics were combined in one person. In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a migration of people of this stock to the border counties of North and South Carolina. One of them, Andrew Jackson, came over in 1765 from County Antrim, Ireland, and located in the Waxhaw Settlement, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, close to the border of South Carolina. The father of the president was not a

landholder, and died within two years of his arrival. Shortly after his death his son Andrew was born, March 15, 1767. Though his leading biographer gives Union County, North Carolina, as the place of his birth, Jackson himself mentions South Carolina several times as his birth State. He was reared in the most straitened circumstances. Mere living may not have been difficult, any more than for the quadrupeds, where coarse food existed in abundance. But the larger life in which there was the semblance of comfort and ease and culture was not for the lad. Hardship was native both to the section and the times. The frontier was raw and the spirit was bitter, owing to the division of sentiment touching the struggle for independence. The British broke into the Waxhaw region, and on one of their raids made captives of the Jackson boys. The war cost the future general the lives of both his brothers and also that of his mother, who died on her way to Charleston to do hospital service for sick prisoners. Not only loss of relatives, but the memory of an indignity which he suffered were his heritage of the war. On one occasion a British officer ordered him to blacken his boots, and on his refusal the officer struck him across the face with his sword, inflicting a wound whose scar he carried with him through life. From 1781 to 1785 found him first in a saddler's shop, then in a lawyer's office, dividing his time between uncongenial employments and more engaging fun, such as racing horses and general mischief. He was gay, passionate, high strung.

He could not have gained much knowledge of law, and through his life he did not look at problems of progress with a legal turn of mind. Carried westward by the fever of the frontier days, Jackson obtained the office of public prosecutor of the Western District of North Carolina. He reached Nashville, a frontier settlement, in October, 1788. The life into which he plunged, for no other term will suffice, was that for which he had been born. He did nothing by halves. As the hunters were slowly supplanted by settlers and home makers, quarrels over land claims were

a leading feature of the borderers' unconventional round of existence. At a time when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," the dignity of abstract law, of law as a sentiment, could be upheld only by a firm, even reckless and defiant grasp. Jackson possessed such a hold on men and circumstances. By his mingled tact and daring he soon became a power in the sparsely settled community. His temper was nothing less than volcanic. His oaths were varied, numerous, and highly effective. Yet after he reached middle life both were less frequently in evidence, and except upon extraordinary occasions were more moderate than in youth. Of course he made enemies. He even expected to create them, and sometimes seemed to court them. But he did what no other man did so well in a lawless and crude social life, he conquered them. To inspire due respect for legal methods in a territory just rounding into statehood was no holiday task, but the young attorney succeeded in doing so. He settled at Nashville, says Kendall, just because he was there able to enforce the law against troublesome debtors. When some intruders on Indian lands gave trouble, Governor Blount said: "Let the district attorney, Mr. Jackson, be informed. He will be certain to do his duty, and the offenders will be punished."

The tall young lawyer was surely not lacking in bearing. To behold him on foot or on horseback was to see no common man. He was an "exquisite horseman," and to the end of his life was passionately fond of a good horse. He did much to improve the breed of Tennessee horses, making a special journey to Virginia for the purpose of importing a noble specimen of the racing animal, a stallion named Truxton, with whose exploits the western race courses were soon to resound. To note Jackson afoot was to see a tall, thin frame surmounted by a thin face, the forehead narrow and high, the hair a sandy red and falling low over his forehead. The portraits of his bristling forelock are of later life. His mouth was one of the firm sort: he was strong jawed. But the feature of the face was the eye,

a most uncommon eye, deep blue, changing at times to gray, now gentle and again blazing with wrath before which men quailed. He was not strong, but tough and remarkably agile, able to toil and do without sleep for days at a time, as when at the battle of New Orleans, it is said that he neither closed his eyes nor rested his limbs nor sat down to a meal for half a week. Wherever Jackson moved men knew him for a leader. Once at a session of the court at Jonesboro a fire broke out. Jackson entered the street and assumed command of the fire brigade. He shouted for buckets and formed his line from the stream to the scene of the fire. He stationed men on the roofs adjoining to keep them wet. A drunken coppersmith who boasted of having seen fires in Baltimore began giving orders. "Fall into line!" thundered Jackson. The man jabbered on. Jackson seized a bucket and knocked him down, then walked down the line giving orders as coolly as before. He saved the town.

Jackson's free and easy air with the backwoodsmen became with ladies an air of urbane and gracious consideration. He was tender to children and kind to servants. He could be haughty and forbidding, he was always impatient of restraint, was impulsive, at times fierce and unrelenting. He did not know the grace of forgiving. Any opposition to his party or policy was quickly transformed into a personal matter. Someone asked Edmund Quincy late in life if Jackson was to be considered a gentleman. His reply was: "The fact was borne in upon me that the seventh president was, in essence, a knightly personage,—prejudiced, narrow, mistaken upon many points, it may be, but vigorously a gentleman in his high sense of honor and in the natural straightforward courtesies which are easily to be distinguished from the veneer of policy."

Duelling was so common in the world when the century opened and so germane to the spirit of the West as a method of adjusting the affronts of injured honor among the men of the frontier that a man constituted as Jackson

was, with unbridled passions, could not easily, if at all, escape the contagion of personal combat. Jackson fought not only for himself, but for anyone near to him in blood or love or honor or dependence. In his boyhood he was said to be the only one his friend knew who was disposed to bully his fellows and who was not at the same time a coward. The sparring of a court room brought on a duel in 1795 between Jackson and a lawyer named Avery. A more famous quarrel was that between Governor John Sevier and Jackson. Sevier held to the office of major-general after his election as governor. To this Jackson made a rather warm objection, as the governor was *ex-officio* head of the militia. High words were followed by a challenge from Jackson. Sevier declined to fight as he was a poor man with a large family, saying it was not necessary for him to prove his bravery. This did not allay the bad feeling, and shortly after in Knoxville they met and engaged in another quarrel. Jackson made mention of his services to the State. "Services!" replied Sevier. "I know of no great services you have rendered the country, except taking a trip to Natchez with another man's wife," referring to the charges falsely made against Jackson.—"Great God!" cried Jackson, "do you mention *her* sacred name?" Forthwith shots were fired in the crowded street, but fortunately, no one was seriously hurt.

The fighting attorney must have had scores of combats. The most tragic ending resulted from his duel with Charles Dickinson, a gay, well-connected young lawyer, who when in drink wagged a loose tongue. He had the reputation of being the best shot in the State. In a tavern, at Nashville, he spoke some disparaging words of Mrs. Jackson, which some meddler carried to the general. The unpardonable sin had been committed and it was to be wiped out in blood. After a long series of bitter words and letters in which exciting charges were made, Dickinson was challenged by Jackson. This was in May, 1806. They met at a distance of a long day's ride from the city. At various

stopping places on the way Dickinson had amused himself by cutting strings with his bullets at twenty-four feet, the distance to be marked between the duellists. On one occasion he left a severed string hanging to the support and told the landlord to show it to Jackson if he came along the road. At the appointed spot the two men faced each other. At the shout of Jackson's second: "Fire!" Dickinson fired first. A puff of dust flew from Jackson's breast. But the grim figure did not fall. He simply threw his left arm across his chest and to the utter amazement of the marksman of Tennessee stood erect and deliberately pulled his trigger. It stopped at half cock. At his second fire Dickinson fell, mortally wounded. On the way back one of Jackson's shoes was found to be full of blood. He had been hit exactly where Dickinson had aimed, where he thought the heart was, but because of Jackson's thin body and his loose fitting coat, Dickinson misjudged the locality of the vital organ, and he died without the gratification of knowing he had touched his opponent. Yet in the end it was the well-aimed bullet of Dickinson that worried the old soldier for many a year, and finally caused his death. This shocking affair so told against Jackson in the State, and his popularity so suffered, on account of the fatal issue of the duel, that it is doubtful if he could have been elected to any office between the years 1806 and 1812. However, this sad affair did not prevent Jackson from keeping himself in the public eye, as when Burr's trial was held, 1807, at Richmond, Virginia, Jackson delivered street harangues in defence of Burr and denounced Jefferson as a persecutor.

So much has been made of the way in which Jackson got his wife and so many scenes of his career were colored by his defence of her name that a brief sketch of their marriages, for there were two, must be allowed. Rachel Donelson was a handsome blackhaired brunette who made a famous voyage with her father and friends down the Tennessee, up the Ohio, and up the Cumberland, to their

new home. The voyage lasted four months. A manuscript account kept by her father is still in the family of one of his descendants. Some time after, Rachel married Lewis Robards, who proved to be insanely jealous of any civilities paid his wife. Jackson found the home of the widow Donelson,—her husband, the colonel, had been killed by an ambushed foe,—a convenient place for boarding. Before his arrival Robards had already been blamed by his own mother for his treatment of his wife. One separation and reunion had already taken place when the young attorney appeared on the scene. The account given by Judge Overton in its orderly narration lays no blame upon Jackson, but makes it plain that he had married her without fully investigating the law granting the divorce between her and her husband. Robards had left his wife the second time. She feared him, and joined a party of friends going to Natchez in the spring of 1791. Jackson accompanied them at the earnest solicitation of Colonel Stark, who had Mrs. Robards in charge and wanted protection from the Indians. Jackson had heard some time in the course of the year that the Virginia legislature, as was the custom in the olden time, had granted a divorce to Robards. Thinking it an absolute divorce he was married to Mrs. Robards in the fall of 1791. To the surprise of Jackson, Robards in 1793 applied in the County Court of Mercer County, Kentucky, for an absolute divorce. In divorce suits a law of Virginia compelled a man to procure an Act of legislature authorizing a trial before a jury. Robards had procured the passage of such an Act, but allowed two years to elapse before using its privilege. The trial was held in September, 1793, and Robards readily proved that his wife had deserted him for another man. In 1794, Jackson had the marriage ceremony again performed. His social standing was not affected in the least at Nashville from the day of his marriage till his death. He bore the reputation of a pure man and his wife that of a chaste woman, before as well as after their marriage. He

outgrew his wife in many of the points of a more refined courtesy and ceremonious bearing which his promotion to high place imposed upon him, but their domestic life was of the sort in which love grew as age increased.

The campaign of 1828 opened the floodgates of abuse, and neither Jackson nor his wife nor his mother's memory were spared. Campaign papers like the *Anti-Jackson Expositor* made no pause short of vilest defamation. Mrs. Jackson was sorely grieved, while the general raged in bitterest wrath. When the news of the result of the election reached the Hermitage, Mrs. Jackson quietly said: "Well, for Mr. Jackson's sake, I am glad; for my own part, I never wished it." This was doubtless a true expression. But she was not permitted to wear the magnificent robes which certain ladies of Nashville were preparing for her as mistress of the White House. She died on December 22, 1828, of heart disease. Her husband was loth to believe her dead. The attendants were preparing a table for laying her out. With a choking voice the general said: "Spread four blankets upon it. If she does come to, she will lie so hard upon the table." This was like him, and the picture of the stern old man sitting by her side all the night long with her face in his hands "grieving" and inconsolable, rivals that which Macaulay tells of the stern warrior of England, William III., on whose breast was found the locket containing the face of his wife. Jackson was never quite the same man afterward; a softer mood possessed him. But his readiness to take the side of any injured woman, even to the breaking up of his Cabinet, may be traced to his memory of the wife whose life had made its constant appeal to all that was chivalric in his nature. The contrast between the two emphasized the rare grace of his courtesy, for he never seemed to realize that he, with his grave and military bearing, the centre of every group that looked in admiration upon his notable figure, was not perfectly matched by the stout, little, plain-featured, motherly woman by his side. It was an odd mingling of the

elements which made up the home of the chief man of the West. Burr and Lafayette—both certainly sensitive to every appeal to a refined taste—recalled with pleasure their intercourse with the frontier general at his home in Tennessee. Visitors from Europe found a strange charm in the noble and distinguished bearing of the man in the White House, who yet was not averse to puffing his clay pipe, and who would spell the part of the world from which they came: "Urope."

To go back to the close of the preceding century, Jackson is found a member of the convention which met at Knoxville in 1796 and framed a constitution for the State of Tennessee. Tradition has it that he proposed the name of the river as that of the State. After its admission, Jackson was chosen the first Federal Representative. Following this he was appointed Senator. At Philadelphia he saw the best society in the land. He was one of the twelve who voted against an address to Washington, on what grounds is not clearly known. Jackson was a thorough Republican-Democrat in his votes. He does not seem to have enjoyed political life, or to have cared for it. In April, 1798, he resigned his position, and on his return to his State was made judge of the Supreme Court. His letters of this period reveal an illiteracy which was not so marked in later life. He held this position till 1804. In 1805, he and Burr made an agreement to send boats down the Mississippi, but for what purpose Jackson did not clearly understand, and on having his suspicions aroused, he withdrew from the arrangement. That Burr went to Jackson is proof of an influence which the ambitious politician hoped to use to advance his own schemes, whatever they might have been. But Burr's treasonable scheme, so artfully presented to Blennerhasset at his Ohio home, would suffice to alienate the general's regard, and yet, later, at Burr's trial he testified in his favor. His contempt for Wilkinson, who appeared as the accuser of Burr, may have caused him to defend the latter. His personal

relations with men and events always affected his opinions and often perverted his judgments.

At the age of forty-five, Jackson was without the prospect of a public career. The War of 1812 gave him something to do. Benton tells how he brought to him the news of the Act of Congress authorizing the raising of volunteers to serve one year: "I arrived at his house one wet, chilly evening in February, and came upon him in the twilight, sitting alone before the fire, a lamb and a child between his knees." The child, an adopted son, had cried because the lamb was out in the cold, and the three were thus found together. He set out for New Orleans in January, 1813. At Natchez he quarrelled with Wilkinson, his superior. An order came from the secretary of war, dismissing him from public service and throwing his troops upon the country, to find their way home without pay or rations. Jackson, chagrined and angered, hired transportation and marched his men five hundred miles back to Nashville, and there dismissed them from the service. His bills for expenses incurred were paid only after the exertion of great political influence by Colonel Benton, who threatened the administration with the defection of Tennessee from the policy of the president. Jackson never hesitated to assume responsibility. His conduct in bringing his men home enhanced his popularity to an astonishing extent; his endurance in this campaign won him the sobriquet of "Old Hickory." In September, 1813, Jackson was confined to his bed by a severe wound received in a fight with Thomas H. Benton and his brother Jesse; but he left it at the call of Governor Blount, organized the militia of west Tennessee, and took an active part in the Creek War. All the faults of the imperious will now became virtues. He had quarrels with his officers, he suffered from lack of provisions, and faced a mutinous soldiery. He was in miserable health at the time, but he overcame all his foes. His remarkable energy, his tremendous will, his fearless moods, his direct method of reaching his ends, combined to win him increasing favor. He enforced discipline at the

expense of being called cruel; he would not sacrifice public considerations for the sake of men's good will. At Horse-shoe Bend he routed the Creeks; and at Hickory Ground he built Fort Jackson, and forced upon the defeated Creeks the treaty by which they were split into two sections and their power broken. The after results of this campaign became apparent when it was seen that the Creek Indians no longer blocked the way of the American troops by any alliances they might make with other tribes or with the British. On May 31, 1814, Jackson was appointed major-general in the regular army. He established his headquarters at Mobile. The British appeared at Pensacola. Neutral Spain owned Florida, with the boundaries between her and the United States in dispute. Spain allowed Great Britain to use her borders as a base of operations. The American government was in hard lines in the summer and fall of 1814. Jackson could get neither aid nor orders from headquarters, and it is not to be made a matter of wonder that he stormed Pensacola. This has been called a second great step in the war in the Southwest. The subjugation of the Indians had made Mobile defensible; now, the fall of Pensacola made possible the victory of New Orleans.

By January, 1815, Jackson was the most famous man in America. When the news of the "Almost Incredible Victory" began to spread over the country, the revulsion of feeling reached the hysterical stage. A Philadelphia enthusiast flung up a transparency on which was the general on horseback in pursuit of the enemy, with the motto: "This day shall ne'er go by, from this day to the ending of the world, but He, in it, shall be remembered." When Henry Clay, after signing the Treaty of Ghent, heard the news, he uttered with emphasis the words: "Now, I can go to England without mortification!" A month after his great victory, Jackson exhibited his own determination to maintain discipline by the execution of six mutinous militiamen. The trial had taken place at Mobile in December for the

offence which occurred at Fort Jackson in September, 1814. Jackson approved the court-martial's findings, though he was at New Orleans. Not much was made of the affair at the time, but it furnished campaign material in 1828. The discipline was very harsh, and a less penalty would have been sufficient, but Jackson's reason was that some such rigor was needed by the American army, especially in the West. Immediately after the British defeat Jackson was brought into collision with the civil authority of New Orleans. Frenchmen who had certain privileges for twelve years under the treaty of 1803, sought certificates of nationality, that they might secure the exemptions to which they were entitled. Jackson regarded them as shirks, and even after he had received news through an unofficial source of the treaty of peace, ordered all persons holding certificates of French nationality to go to Baton Rouge before the 3d of March. On the 8th of the month this order was suspended save in the case of Louaillier, the French consul, who had written an article criticising the exercise of martial law. He was arrested March 5th, but secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from Judge Hall, of the United States District Court. Jackson convened a court-martial to try Louaillier and also arrested Judge Hall. The court-martial brought in an acquittal, but the consul was kept in prison until the arrival of the official document announcing peace. On March 11th Hall was released. He immediately summoned Jackson to show why he should be exempt from an attachment for contempt of court. On Jackson's refusal to comply, the judge fined him one thousand dollars. This fine, with interest, a total of two thousand seven hundred dollars, was refunded by Congress in 1844. That Jackson was too unyielding is evident from the fact that the series of unfortunate events occurred after the 6th of March, at which time Jackson was sure the war was over. But graciousness was not a commanding trait when his authority was assailed. He was popular, a privileged person, and few dared to call him to account.



John Caldwell Calhoun. *From the painting by G. P. A. Healey, in the*
• • *City Hall, Charleston.*

The election of 1816 found Jackson warmly in favor of Monroe for the presidency. Crawford he hated, for the reason that the secretary had modified Jackson's treaty with the Creeks. Jackson's name was first mentioned for the presidency in a letter written by Burr to his son-in-law, Joseph Allston, governor of South Carolina, in 1815. In his protest against a weak administration, Burr said: "If then there be a man in the United States of firmness and decision, and having standing enough to afford even a hope of success, it is your duty to hold him up to public view; that man is *Andrew Jackson*." But Allston was heartbroken over the loss of his wife, and the letter was left unopened among his papers. Nor did the men who in after days pushed the nomination to the front know of the letter until after the election of General Jackson. Even as late as 1821, after there had been for some time covert mention of his name for the chief office, Jackson flung down a New York paper handed to him in Pensacola, in which his name was mentioned for the presidency, with the characteristic words: "Do they think that I am such a d——d fool as to think myself fit for President of the United States? No, sir; I know what I am fit for. I can command a body of men in a rough way; but I am not fit to be President."

In October, 1816, Jackson wrote a letter to Monroe in which he urged him to an unpartisan course in his appointments, advising him not to confine them to Democrats alone, but to include Federalists. Jackson had the wisest of scribes in Edward Livingston and W. B. Lewis for aids at the right moment, and when this letter was given to the public seven years afterward its effect was not small to draw men to the general. But in the meantime he had his hands full of serious matters, some of the results of which were discussed for a quarter of a century. Having been unable to draw General Winfield Scott into a duel over some reflections of the latter upon Jackson's wilfulness, he was soon engaged in the subjugation of refugee Indians and runaway

negroes in Florida. Jackson was now commander-in-chief of the Southern Division of the Army. The British, Spaniards, Indians, and negroes were a combination of offensive elements to the fiery general, and he burned villages and hanged agents and chiefs with entire disregard of diplomatic considerations. As an incident, he captured Pensacola, May 24, 1818, deposing the Spanish government. In five months he made a most thorough conquest. His whole military service extended to less than two years. What concerns the reader at this stage is the effort to censure Jackson for overstepping his authority and the resultant feud it laid between the two great leaders of the West. The part that Clay took in the attempt to censure him he knew of long before he found out that Calhoun was equally vexed at his insubordination. The president and the whole cabinet, save Adams, were ready to make good to Spain the loss and to disavow the doings of the impetuous general. It fell to Adams to defend the course of Jackson, but at the same time to surrender to Spain Pensacola and St. Marks. To this the Cabinet unanimously agreed, and it was not till ten years later that the secret of the first purpose to censure was made public. Jackson thought Calhoun was his friend. The spirit of opposition which characterized the work of Clay led him to take issue with the administration when it finally approved Jackson's course. The longtime feud between the orator and the soldier now began its bitter course. The Fates seem to have decreed that the man, Clay, who had done most to bring on the war of 1812 should never gain the office to which his abilities and public services pointed, while the less known man, Jackson, should find in the war such an opportunity as comes to a man but once in a lifetime, and which he improved to the utmost. The West had won against the East in the matter of the war. Now the West divided over its two chief men. Niles gave expression to the popular feeling over the attempted vote of censure: "The fact is, that ninety-nine in a hundred of the people

believe that General Jackson acted on every occasion for the good of his country, and success universally crowned his efforts." The people did not know what the views of the old soldier were upon a score of debatable items, nor did they care, but with frequent repetition and deep feeling they recited how when he was leading his footsore men back from Natchez and had three horses for himself, he gave them all up for the use of the sick men, and trudged with the soldiers the rough way homeward. Nor did they fail to tell how, when after the dispersion of the Indians at Talluschatches a babe was found on the bloody field lying in the arms of its dead mother. When it was brought into camp Jackson tried to get some of the Indian mothers to give it nourishment. "No," they said; "kin all dead; kill him, too." The general ordered the child to be taken to his tent, and there he had a little brown sugar dissolved in water, with which he kept the little fellow alive till it could be sent back to the settlements. At the end of the campaign he took the boy to his home and brought him up in his own house. It was not hard to get a great following from rough men, and others, too, by picturing the emaciated general in the Creek country, when men were on the point of mutinying through hunger and home-sickness, sitting down to a dinner of acorns and water for his meal, or when a volunteer begged from him something to eat, as cheerfully drawing forth from his pocket all that he had for food, acorns, and handing them to the hungry man. This was a good offset to the scene in which the wrathful general was depicted standing in the middle of the road stretching homeward, his left arm in a sling from a wound, with gun resting over his horse's neck, and threatening to blow his mutinous soldiers into eternity if they crossed the line he had drawn.

Hardly ever has it happened that a military chieftain gained so towering a reputation after so short a time spent in the field,—in Jackson's case twenty-three months. His friend Major Lewis, writing of the Creek and New Orleans

campaigns, ranked him in point of innate capacity with Cromwell, Frederick, Bonaparte and Wellington. An enemy gave substantially the same testimony. In 1888, one of the two survivors of the army that retreated before the fire of Jackson's men on January 8, 1815, the Rev. G. R. Gleig, who had been lieutenant of foot in the expedition, wrote, just before his death, to General James G. Wilson, a veteran of the Civil War: "I regard his management of that campaign as one of the most masterly of which history makes mention." In the study of him as the head of a growing nation he will be best viewed from the point of his temper and ability as a soldier. He was imperturbably brave, self-confident, wary as an Indian till he saw his way clear, then rash to the full in execution, vigilant, prompt, loving his "boys," yet hard as iron against cowards and shirks, combining the two extremes so marked in all great commanders. Like Napoleon he had the maxim-making power. "In war, till everything is done, nothing is done," was one, and another eminently characteristic of him is: "When you have a thing to do, take all the time for thinking that the circumstances allow, but when the time has come for action, stop thinking." His love for the Union was intense and constant. When he became convinced that Burr was plotting a possible ill for the Union, he wrote to Governor Claiborne, November 6, 1806: "I hate the Dons, and would delight to see Mexico reduced; but I would die in the last ditch before I would see the Union disunited." When his opinions were once formed they were seldom changed. If his judgment was not infallible it was quite immutable. Yet both Amos Kendall and Thomas H. Benton have said that he was open to conviction, and Kendall goes so far as to declare that he had never seen him in a passion: "General Jackson was as gentle as a lamb;" at the same time he did not doubt that "when greatly aroused he gave way to his passion." Yet Kendall knew him only in the sobering autumn of the old warrior's career. There was a time when his temper was about as famous as his victory

over the British. In 1818, Jefferson said to Monroe, when he asked if it would not do to give Jackson the mission to Russia: "Why, good God, he would breed you a quarrel before he had been there a month!" His forte was not diplomacy, but command.

CHAPTER XI

JACKSON'S FIRST TERM

WITH the election of Andrew Jackson, the most scurrilous campaign in the nation's history came to an end. Personalities had been most freely indulged in. Classes had been pitted against each other. In the main, the rich and cultured gave their support to Adams and scoffed at the untutored backers of Jackson. Fair play had not characterized the supporters of Adams, so the supporters of Jackson affirmed. The retaliation of the latter was fierce and, what was more to the point, it was well organized. They too flung back with interest every gibe and offset ridicule with odious scandal. Adams was guiltless of the defamation in which his henchmen had indulged. Jackson, however, believed that Adams was privy to the attack of the *National Journal* upon his marriage, and he declined to make the customary call upon the outgoing president. Adams, on his part, refused to be present at the inauguration of Jackson, in this imitating, in part at least, his father, John Adams, who had, at the close of his presidential term, left the capital without paying his respects to Jefferson. The ex-president remained within doors during the inauguration festivities.

March 4, 1829, was a balmy spring day. A vast crowd filled Washington. The eastern portico of the Capitol was blocked with an eager throng. For the first time, this noble entrance was ready for such a ceremony. As the tall form

of Jackson emerged from the columns which represent the States of the Union, the populace went wild with enthusiasm. Whatever the defeated leaders may have felt as to the gloomy prospects for the land, the people had no misgivings. Never had such enthusiasm unbent itself in Washington. The people's candidate was in power, and the country was safe. They swarmed in the halls and stairs of his hotel. They filled the streets with their vociferations of "Hurrah for Jackson!" King Mob was in high feather when Jackson, after taking the oath, rode from the Capitol to the White House to receive his friends. They made themselves at home, without order or restraint. Judge Story was glad to escape from the scene. Men with muddy boots climbed upon the damask satin covered chairs to get a sight of the president. Refreshments were spilled in great quantities on the floors. A lively eyewitness described the confusion as "appalling." Tubs of liquor had to be carried out into the garden to draw off the crowd. A number of gentlemen had to form a cordon about the president to keep him from being suffocated, and relief came only when the windows were thrown open to make an outlet for the torrent. "It was the 'People's day, the People's President, and the People would rule.'" For many days the mob hung on, greedy for office. They swarmed "a great multitude," said Webster, "too many to be fed without a miracle." Among the most prominent were the editors of Jackson newspapers, who, having rendered yeoman service during the campaign, now came for their reward.

The "reform" which Jackson had said in his inaugural was one of his duties was marked by personal as well as partisan bias. Now was his chance to revenge himself upon the friends of Adams and Clay, and he did it with Jacksonian promptness, making courtesy wait on rancor. On the day of his inauguration, he summoned Colonel J. A. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, and handed him a brief note which read: "Sir, you are appointed to take charge of the Department of State, and to perform the duties of that

office until Governor Van Buren arrives in this city." Van Buren had been chosen as the successor of Henry Clay, but had not yet reached the capital. Hamilton was told that the moment he heard the gun fired which was to indicate that Jackson had taken the oath, Clay's place was to be empty. The vigor with which Jackson got rid of his chief foe was vicious. One of his traits was his desire to reward his friends and to scourge his enemies, and that Clay was to be the first victim was not unlooked for; but even in this, Jackson struck like lightning.

Three days after this, citizens of Washington gave Clay a public dinner at which he spoke with every evidence of profoundly aggrieved feelings. "I deprecated the election of the present president of the United States, because I believed he had neither the temper, the experience, nor the attainments requisite" for the office, said Clay. In his remarks, Clay declared that his only qualifications for the office were his military achievements, and in them he saw peril for civil authority. He had little confidence in that part of the inaugural address in which Jackson pointed out the evils of a standing army of large size. The sting appeared as Clay went on: "That citizen has done me much injustice, wanton, unprovoked, and unatoned injustice." But in closing he said: "Let us never despair of the American Republic." Clay went back to his loved Ashland, to appear as the leader of his party in the Senate at a later day. The scars of the wounds of the fateful campaign were to abide through life, to be deepened if possible by additional encounters, in which matters of public policy in dispute between the two great westerners were always cumbered by the deadweights of personal suspicion and hate.

The formation of his Cabinet received the first attention of the president. The secretary of state was Martin Van Buren, of New York; the secretary of the treasury, Samuel G. Ingham, of Pennsylvania; the secretary of war, John H. Eaton, of Tennessee; the secretary of the navy, John Branch, of North Carolina; the attorney-general, John M.

Berrien, of Georgia. As compared with previous Cabinets, it was a decided drop in ability. Excepting Van Buren, there was not a statesman in the list. Nor can it be said that the new secretary of state had exhibited powers above the second rank. He had consummate abilities in holding his party together and in the management of a campaign. He was gifted with extraordinary self-control, was an excellent reasoner, a good executive, but he had smirched his reputation in connection with the "spoils" system of his native State, and its introduction into the field of federal politics. The Cabinet lacked cohesiveness. In only one thing they were agreed, their hate of Clay. The postmaster-general with his vast patronage was too important a person to be left out of the circle, and W. T. Barry, of Kentucky, was drawn into the midst of men with power of appointment and the will to make changes in subordinate offices. He was not the equal of his predecessor, J. J. McLean, who, too conservative for the radical measures of the president, was elevated to the Supreme Bench.

While Jackson's Cabinet, as a whole, had small influence over him, it fell to another body of men, who gathered about him, with unofficial but active share in the direction of public policy, to earn the significant title of "the Kitchen Cabinet." Major W. B. Lewis, a skilful party manager, was an intimate friend of Jackson and remained in Washington, in a government position, at his urgent request. Jackson leaned hard upon his tried friends, and Lewis was given an auditorship. General Duff Green was for a while the editorial mouthpiece of the administration, and spoke through the columns of the *United States Telegraph*. Isaac Hill, like Horace Greeley, a printer and a partisan, rising from poverty to opulence, came under the favorable notice of the president for turning his State into the ranks of the Democracy and entered the ring. The ablest of the group was Amos Kendall. He was of New England birth, drifted to Kentucky at the opening of the war, was for a time tutor in the family of Henry Clay, became his bitter enemy, and

developed into an editor of real talent, with unusual skill in framing first-class state papers, and in flinging vituperative bolts of partisan thunder. He gave every proof of being an unswerving admirer of Jackson. He came to Washington as a hater of the National Bank, and a believer in distributing offices among the faithful.

The opening days of the new régime were dark enough for all the old office holders. The gloom in all departments of public service was dense. Officials, unfitted to do other work, trembled through the routine of the day, looking for each opening of the door to introduce a stranger who had been sent to displace the former occupant. To go to the president with anything like a protest was to fix his will in an insoluble mould. When White, the delegate from Florida, asked the reason why twelve officials of the Territory had been removed and their places taken by cheaper men, the president passionately declared that no removals had been made except for wrong doing. White went to Van Buren and requested a statement of specific instances of worthless service. The only answer he got from the bland secretary was: "The president's recollection must be at fault. We give no reasons for our removals."

What Jackson called "putting down misrule" introduced a reign of terror in Washington. Either duplicity or forgetfulness explains the kind solicitude of Jackson for the welfare of an honorable official on one day and his peremptory removal on the next. The foreign service was not seriously affected, though Harrison was recalled for being the friend of Clay. But at home the agitation was profound. The Senate endeavored to check the imperious humor of the old soldier, only to inflame to a dangerous degree his slightest dislike of any man involved. No more veritable autocrat ever dictated the policy of his government. Himself inflexibly honest and trustworthy, he no doubt desired to have such men about him. But he could no more inaugurate such a wholesale system of removals as the

present one and not appoint incompetent, not to say reckless officials,—like Samuel Swartwout, appointed collector of the port of New York,—than he could have won the battle of New Orleans with an impromptu hickory broom brigade. Nor could the situation be altered even if it be admitted that he made very few changes himself. He may not have been personally responsible for the selection of worthless men. He claimed not long before his death that he had removed only one subordinate official “by act of direct personal authority.” The influence of the New York methods of manipulating political forces was noticeable at the White House, for Jackson declared: “I am no politician. But if I were a politician, I would be a New York politician.”

Intimations of changes to be made among office holders were given to the public in the autumn of 1828. The *United States Telegraph*, of November 3d, used the following language: “We know not what line of policy General Jackson will adopt. We take it for granted, however, that he will reward his friends and punish his enemies.” Then followed a list of names of officials to be punished.

All previous records of change were broken. Removals had taken place in New York and Pennsylvania, but to no marked extent in national politics. Jefferson made only thirty-nine removals in the eight years of his administration. In all the forty years of the six presidents prior to Jackson there had been only seventy-four removals. John Quincy Adams had dismissed two officials. Jackson, though he had urged Monroe not to exclude political opponents from office, began his “task of reform” with inexorable vigor. During his first year there were four hundred and ninety-one postmasters, and two hundred and thirty-nine other appointees who suffered official decapitation. Yet it is wrong to lay the whole burden to the charge of Jackson. He did not originate it. The “spoils” system of rewarding party followers was declared by the historian of the State of New York to have been anterior to Jackson’s period.

In 1801, De Witt Clinton introduced this system into New York politics. The outcome of a struggle for the right of nomination between the Federal governor, Jay, and the Republican Council of Appointment took shape in the amendment of the legislature giving any member of the Council the privilege of making nominations, the majority to make the appointments. Under Clinton's leadership there was inaugurated a proscription of all Federalists from official positions. Jackson fell heir to a tendency of the politicians and the people to distribute the burdens and the powers of government among the partisan supporters of the administration. If it be true, as remarked by a philosophical historian of Great Britain, that Jackson "deserves to be remembered as the founder of the most stupendous system of political corruption in modern history," it yet remains that the system was welcomed, if not cradled, in other wills than that of the old soldier. No man ever had readier tools with which to develop the system than the frontier president.

According to Von Holst, Jackson "only opened the gates which had long dammed the flood; he opened them as the representative of the political tendency which, with his election, became predominant, and he opened them with that energy which was peculiarly his own." The system with its poison has rioted in the body politic for nearly three-quarters of a century. Honorable men, then and since, have denounced it. Calhoun spoke of the spoils system as "the most corrupting, loathsome and dangerous disease that can infect a popular government." Yet honorable men approved it. What Senator William L. Marcy, of New York, uttered was but the echo of a voice that rang through the whole land. The Senator, an upright man, said, speaking of his fellow politicians: "They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy." A man less given to interpreting political fitness in terms of personal loyalty than Andrew Jackson would not have surrounded himself with such a crowd of office seekers as filled

Washington with their clamor. When he knew it, he used men; when he did not know it, they used him; so he became oftentimes the agent of men whose partisanship tended to debauch the political life of the nation.

The first month of the new administration was not passed until rumor was busy with the name of the wife of the secretary of war. Ordinarily, the breeze would soon have blown over, but here it whirled with cyclonic vigor about the Cabinet of Jackson, and was felt far out in the political world. William O'Neal had been for many years the keeper of an old-fashioned tavern in Washington, at which Eaton had put up in 1818, when senator, and where Jackson, when senator, had taken lodgings in 1823. The sprightly daughter of O'Neal, familiarly called "Peg," assisted in the entertainment of her father's guests. She was a beautiful and vivacious girl, not, however, safeguarded in the free society in which she lived. In a few years she married one Timberlake, of the navy. He died in 1828, having cut his throat, suffering from melancholy induced by dissipation. Major Eaton had been intimate—too intimate, it was said—with the officer's wife; and when her husband's death allowed, he was married to the young widow, January, 1829. The marriage might have gone far to restore the good name of Mrs. Eaton, and the whole affair have been held only in unpleasant memory; but when it was known that Eaton was to have a place in the Cabinet, Washington society was filled with anxious horror. That the woman with a smirched reputation should enter the circle of the Cabinet ladies was more than the wives of the other officials could stand. The president was the recipient of a pile of letters, which he answered with all the interest of a friend and the courage of a soldier. He took the side of Mrs. Eaton with a rare devotion, rushing to her aid as if it had been the case of his own wife, in whose defence he had dared wagging tongues and duelling pistols. His nephew and private secretary, A. J. Donelson, and his wife, he sent back to Tennessee for refusal to visit the Cabinet officer's wife. Van Buren, being

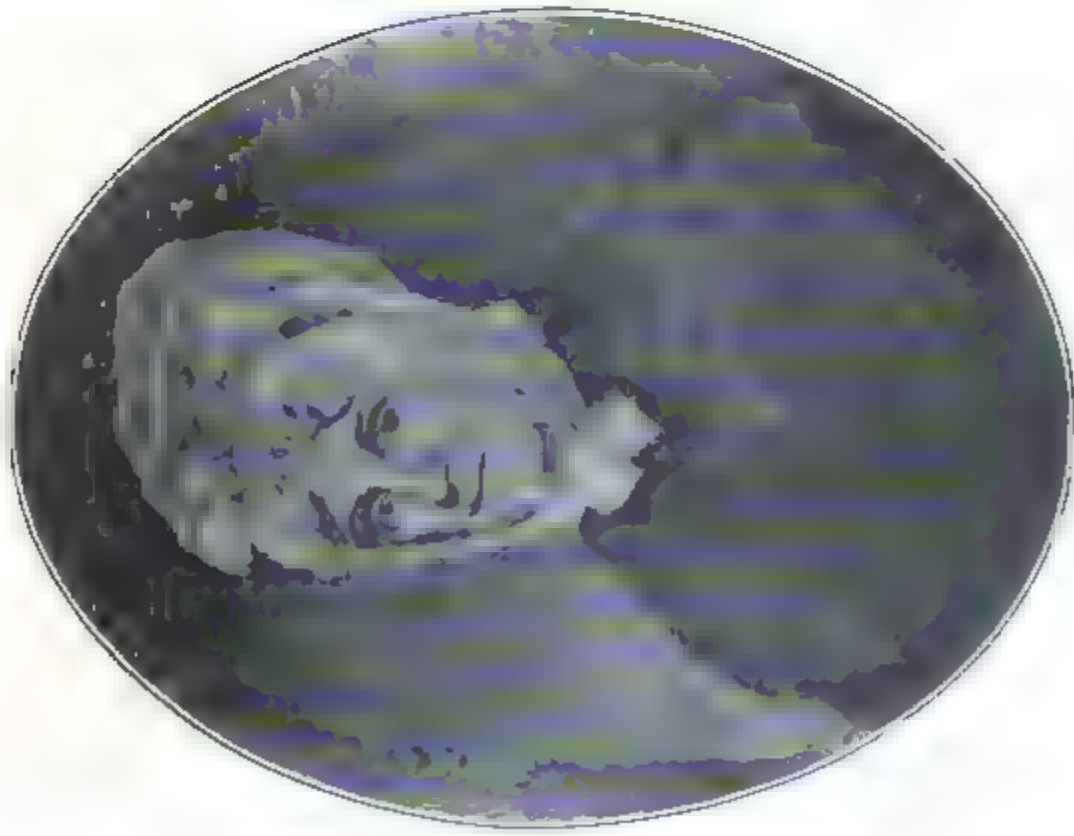
a widower without daughters, was not prevented from taking sides with Mrs. Eaton. The British and the Russian ministers were bachelors, and less concerned to exclude the protégée of the president from social recognition. At a ball given by one of them, when Mrs. Eaton came upon the floor, the company dissolved. Neither Mrs. Calhoun, nor Mrs. Branch, nor Mrs. Ingham would recognize the wife of the secretary of war. For the only time in his career, Jackson was compelled to lower his flag. All the anger of Eaton and all the chivalry of the president had no power to compel even formal respect when once the ladies of the highest circle turned their backs upon Mrs. Eaton. The consequence, so far as the recalcitrant members of the Cabinet were concerned, was that Ingham, Branch, and Berrien were seldom consulted upon public affairs. The Cabinet suffered disintegration. Van Buren came into closer confidence with the president. The Eaton affair and the Kitchen Cabinet imparted to the opening months of the first administration a regrettable character. The old-time dignity and reserve were seriously affected by the new invasion.

The strength of Van Buren increased as that of others declined, so much so, that before the year came to its close, Jackson, contending with ill health, wrote to Judge Overton in Tennessee a letter which remained a secret for nearly thirty years, in which he expressed his preference for Van Buren as his successor. In the same epistle he emphasized his loss of confidence in Calhoun. "I have a right to believe that most of the troubles, vexations, and difficulties I have had to encounter, since my arrival in this city, have been occasioned by his friends." Yet Van Buren was not to taste the sweets of power in four years, and Calhoun was never to reach the place he so earnestly coveted. Van Buren, however, was willing to bide his time, and in his organ, the *Courier and Inquirer*, announced by March, 1830, that Jackson would be a candidate for re-election.

The social upheaval was not the only cause of the loss of the confidence which Jackson had once entertained for

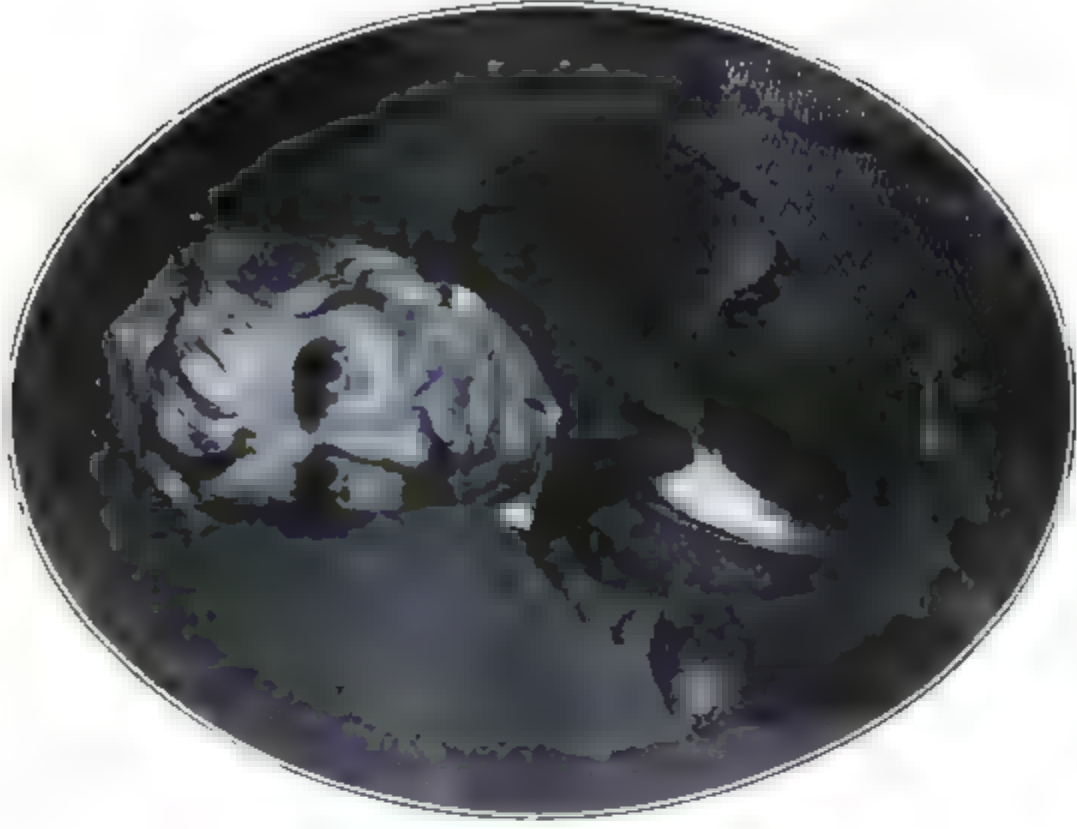
Calhoun. The suspicion which had been slowly taking shape since 1825 that Calhoun was not loyal reached a sudden climax in the exposure by Crawford of the attitude of Calhoun in 1818 in censuring Jackson for his aggressive warfare in the South. The president was furious, the more so because Calhoun's friends had set themselves against the appointment of Eaton. Though Calhoun may have had nothing to do with this matter, the president was in no mood to draw the line between active intrigue on Calhoun's part and his failure to prevent his too enthusiastic followers from hindering the appointment of Eaton. Before the breach became final, there developed the famous correspondence between the president and the vice-president in which Jackson took the ground of a man deeply disappointed over a lost friendship. Jackson declined to continue the interchange of letters and told Calhoun that their friendship was a thing of the past. The loss of Jackson's friendship meant a lessened chance of securing the goal of Calhoun's desires, the presidency; and as the high place which had seemed almost within his grasp began to slip into the shadows, the proud Carolinian bent his feet into the narrow path of particularism in vindication of the right of his State to erect barriers against the invasion of Nationalism. Crawford now had the satisfaction of stabbing Calhoun in the back, and thereby repaid the personal enmities which had been treasured from the campaign of 1824 for the presidential nomination.

The Washington of 1832, though not that of the present, was fast becoming a city of great importance. The political activity of the opening days of Jackson's administration attracted an unprecedented number of visitors and they found in the capital city of the United States little to admire but much to hope for. It had been laid out with the eye of an artist and a prophet by L'Enfant in 1791, and included the beautifying of a district ten miles square on the banks of the Potomac. But its growth was slow. Travellers in the early days of the century found it more



Anna Symmes Harrison.

After prints in the collection of Colonel C. M. Burton, Detroit.



William Henry Harrison.

like a thickly settled country than a city. The main avenue running from the White House to the Capitol was dubbed by Randolph "the great Serbonian bog." The first step forward was from the beauty of nature to the ugliness of a muddy frontier town in which the contrast between a few really grand buildings and the disorder and mud and inconvenience of a new settlement earned for Washington very few friends. The incorporation of the city took place in 1802, and by 1824 it had a population of about fifteen thousand. Nathan Sargent at that time described it as a straggling city, its buildings mean and splendid, its streets unpaved, muddy in wet and dusty in dry weather. The whole of the eastern, southeastern, and northeastern portions of the city were enclosed pastures or commons. On these the cows grazed. Congressmen and clerks rode in to their duties on horseback. The ruined wings of the Capitol which had suffered from the torch of the British in the war, had not been restored at the time of the inauguration of Monroe, but by 1819 Congress met for the first time since the invasion of the British in the even statelier edifice, now enlarged after the original plan, and with its walls about to echo the disturbing debate over the question of the admission of Missouri. Each of the wings was surmounted by a small dome; in the north side the Senate and in the south side the House of Representatives held their sessions, the two buildings being connected in 1821 by a wooden covered way, meeting in the central rotunda, destined to be covered by a huge dome. The Hall of Representatives was considered the finest room in America, and, with its semicircular shape, its dark parti-colored columns surmounted by white marble capitals, and the device of crimson draperies hung between the columns to improve the acoustics of the too ample apartment, it must have been a pleasing relief to the eye just turned from the vision of the rawness in the surroundings of the Capitol. The Senate, already becoming the centre of fame and power, still retained its traditions of dignity and composure, as the

House reflected the more stirring life of the people lately crowding to places of influence in the government. In a lower chamber, before whose entrance stood pillars with the design of half-open ears of Indian corn at the top, the one feature of originality in the whole building which pleased the critical Trollope, were held the sessions of the Supreme Court. The changes which have since then made the Capitol one of the most impressive public buildings on the globe, have lifted the great dome high in air, added the immense wings, one for the Senate and the other for the House, transferred the Supreme Court to the old Senate Hall, and turned the Hall of Representatives into a Statuary Hall. In the old Hall of Congress, Clay, Webster, and Randolph spoke for and against the interference of America in behalf of the Greeks. During the discussion of the Missouri question in the Senate, the chamber was packed, the House adjourning its own business to hear the debate between Rufus King and William Pinkney, in which the latter reached his high-water mark of ornate rhetoric, and at the same time exhibited really solid reasoning in his magnificent statement of the case for the South. In 1830, of the triumvirate who will live to the end of the story of the greatness of the Senate, only Webster was on the floor. Clay was at his country place, Ashland, a mile from Lexington, and Calhoun had not yet become possessed of the seat which fell to him at the resignation of Hayne.

Though the House lost much in the transfer of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun to the more sedate body of lawmakers, it gained in its distinction of having for its leading member an ex-president, the best trained public servant in the nation, John Quincy Adams, who was elected from Massachusetts, and took his seat in Congress, December, 1831. How he converted his apparent descent in the scale of public service into a masterful bid for fame makes stirring reading as one follows his tremendous assault upon nullification, and his unequalled defence of the right of petition, answering scorn with scorn, and overwhelming

vilification with pitiless and formidable sarcasm, as he stood for humanity in the national legislature, coldly supported by the patricians of Boston and bitterly assailed by the aristocrats of Charleston.

The twenty-first Congress met for its first session on December 7, 1829. The House reëlected Andrew Stevenson of Virginia for its Speaker by a vote of one hundred and fifty-two out of a total of one hundred and ninety-one. It was plain that Jackson was not to lack a strong backing. His first annual message put into definite shape several items which had received but hazy statement in his inaugural. The only uncertain sound was with reference to the tariff. On the questions of the Bank, the Indians, the rights of States under the Constitution, and of a firm stand for recognition by foreign cabinets, the message was outspoken. It presented in able manner a fairly complete programme for the party in power. It suggested a single term of four or six years for the president. It declared the need of changes in public offices and attempted a defence of the numerous removals. In its statement of the desirability of a change in the method of electing the chief magistrate, the message reflected the feeling of Jackson and his supporters that there should be no intermediate authority by which a popular minority could have the power to choose a president: "*The majority is to govern*" was the only sentence in italics in the long document. In reference to the Bank, the message questioned its constitutionality and no small alarm arose. Jackson did not wish to be "precipitate." The charter was not to expire till 1836. What did he mean by raising the question so early in his administration? His reputation for making good his words was abroad in the world. When he said that it had failed in establishing a uniform and sound currency did he speak in warning and threat? Immediate stir went through the circle of officials and stockholders of the Bank. It seemed then on a firm basis. Its stock stood at one hundred and twenty-five. Its assets were over one hundred million. Its notes went like gold everywhere.

Von Holst contends that Jackson did not come to Washington resolved to wipe out the Bank. Possibly not. But it will be remembered that ever since the luckless times of inflation in the Mississippi valley, distress trod hard on the heels of sham prosperity. The popular craze for banks as a means for quickly getting rich led men to go into debt for land to be resold to crowds of newcomers. Old deeds show prices paid for town lots on back streets of villages in Kentucky that would be considered too great for city lots at the close of the century. Distress soon came. Hezekiah Niles tells how, in 1819, he "with nearly \$500 in notes of different sizes, and of many old and respectable banks, in his pocket book, was compelled to borrow market money." On August 7th, there were twenty thousand persons in Philadelphia and ten thousand in New York wandering about seeking work. The multiplication of banks on all sides did not save the land. Niles's fierce, almost fanatical, arraignment of the banks and their methods had some ground, for we see various devices of bank officials to avoid honest obligations. The Vincennes Bank of Indiana issued notes payable nine months after date at Vevay. "Nine months" were printed in such small letters at the top as not to be noticed. The Owl Creek Bank of Ohio was nicknamed by Niles the "Hoo-Hoo Bank." The following incident will picture the situation. A mysterious individual entered the bank and asked for specie in exchange for notes. He was told they had none. He requested Eastern funds. They were out of them. "Can you, then, give me tolerably well executed counterfeited notes on solvent banks? I would prefer them to those of this bank." When they laid hands on him he threw down a hoot-owl, saying that he had killed their president.

While such banks could win few friends, the agent of their downfall, the United States Bank, aroused no small jealousy against itself. The hostility it encountered is evident in the words which the *Western Herald*, of Steubenville, Ohio, had for its heading: "The United

States Bank—everything! The sovereignty of the States—nothing!”

Though it be true that by 1827 the currency in the Mississippi valley had much improved, and both State banks and the National Bank were on a better basis, a widespread suspicion of banking methods still remained. The struggle against the United States Bank was in progress when, on December 13, 1827, P. P. Barbour, of Virginia, offered a resolution in the House of Representatives to direct the sale of the stock of the Bank owned by the government. It was lost by a vote of one hundred and seventy-four to nine. In February, 1828, Senator Benton offered resolutions touching the sinking fund, and in December of the same year he resumed the attack upon the privileges of the Bank as an undemocratic institution. Furthermore, during the campaign of 1828, complaints were made that several branch banks had tried to secure Jackson's defeat. Resolutions had been introduced in the South Carolina legislature in 1828 against the constitutionality of the Bank. There was evidently a sympathetic atmosphere, and the explosion was near at hand. New York was jealous of Philadelphia and the location there of the Bank. The Pennsylvania politicians supported the institution, those of the State of New York opposed it. Yet even in Philadelphia there were a few, like John Kintzing Kane, who entered the lists against the Bank. Kane was a jurist of ability, at one time a Federalist, but now a warm supporter of Jackson. The first printed attack on the Bank was written by him, and for this he was for a while under social proscription. The shrewdest politician in the country, Martin Van Buren, was its enemy, though on other grounds than that of its assumed unconstitutionality. He was an enemy to national monopolies. In this he reflected the feeling which was common in the Union, but especially vigorous in the West. If there were less opposition on the basis of its unconstitutionality than for some time past, other reasons prevailed to make it an opportune moment for a successful assault. The Bank stood for the aristocracy, for

distinction of classes, for the creditor as against the debtor, for the bondholders and the people of leisure. These were not in the majority, and with Jackson's incoming the prejudice of the people rose to the surface. What might four thousand stockholders, of whom nearly five hundred were foreigners, expect in the way of quiet continuance of their right to receive dividends? Circumstances attending the election of Jackson in 1828 furnished the next act of opposition to the Bank. Amos Kendall, now beginning to influence the political thinking of Jackson, Isaac Hill, the editor of a partisan paper in New Hampshire, and later second comptroller of the treasury, and Francis P. Blair, of Kentucky, who had owed the Bank twenty thousand dollars and had settled for less than three thousand dollars, spread complaints against the branches at Lexington, Charleston, Portsmouth, and New Orleans that they had attempted to secure the defeat of General Jackson. It looked to the directors of the Bank as if there were a concerted effort to convert the Bank into a party machine for the use of Democracy. At any rate, the times were ripe for conflict.

That Jackson came to Washington with a bias against the Bank is probable. In 1827, while on a trip to New Orleans, Jackson expressed himself to J. A. Hamilton as being strongly against the Bank. Hamilton states his opinion that Jackson was opposed to the Bank before his inauguration. The immediate occasion of the assault upon the Bank was as follows:

Isaac Hill had a grievance over the appointment of Jeremiah Mason as president of the branch of the Bank in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Mason was a leading lawyer of the East, and a prominent Federalist. In his attack upon Mason, Hill was joined by Senator Woodbury, of New Hampshire, who persuaded Secretary Ingham to lodge complaint against Mason for his offensive activity. In addition to the charge of partisan partiality, Mason was declared to be too vigorous in enforcing the payment of old protested notes. It is true that Mason collected debts and was not

so accommodating as his predecessor had been, and it is also a fact that he made enemies. A correspondence began between Nicholas Biddle, the president of the Bank, on the one side and Ingham and Woodbury on the other that did not stop without entailing momentous consequences. Biddle was a scholar and a man of literary tastes, but his fatal facility in the use of the pen told against him in this epistolary conflict. Biddle challenged investigation of the affairs of the Portsmouth branch bank, and it left Mason clear of all the charges of his enemies. But when Biddle learned that Secretary Eaton was attempting to remove the pension moneys from the Portsmouth branch to a bank in Concord of which Hill had been president, he became exasperated, and his letters to Ingham became charged with splenetic energy. He claimed that the directors of the Bank were independent of the orders of any member of the Cabinet, and that the freer it was from political interference the better for its welfare. On September 15, 1829, Biddle wrote a letter to Ingham. It was "an honest, able, upright, imprudent letter." As president of the Bank, he defied the administration. He declared that the directors of the "branches of the Bank of the United States acknowledge not the slightest responsibility of any description whatsoever to the secretary of the treasury touching their political opinions and conduct of their affairs." In the controversy, Ingham seems to have been less consciously inimical to the Bank than either Hill or Kendall, the latter of whom believed or at any rate gave endorsement to the allegation that the Bank had used its funds for political purposes during the presidential election of 1828. Ingham, however, became bitterly hostile to the Bank for one reason or another, more particularly because Biddle had tried to make capital by means of a strained construction of a letter written to him by Ingham concerning the Bank. So earnest was his destructive attitude that Biddle made a final but ineffective effort to regain his regard by a conciliatory letter closing the correspondence.

That Jackson was determined, at the time of his inauguration, to effect the overthrow of the Bank may be doubted, but he had around him men who took advantage of every favoring opportunity to incite him against it, and chief among these was Amos Kendall, that shadowy personality whose growing influence seemed to be in inverse proportion to the publicity which he appeared to shun. He was the most influential member of the "Kitchen Cabinet," which was already supplanting the regular Cabinet in power. Biddle did not appear to realize what an antagonistic force Kendall was destined to bring against the great institution, and even up to the last month of 1829 he wrote voluminous letters in defence of the Bank, quite oblivious of its nearing doom. On the last day of November, 1829, Kendall furnished the editor of the *New York Courier and Enquirer* with an article containing a series of questions in which he outlined a scheme for a substitute for the Bank. He also insinuated that the purpose of the annual message would be to antagonize the Bank. The article was received with quite general scepticism, for men could not be easily persuaded, and Biddle least of all, that the chief financial agent of the government was in peril.

The astute president of the Bank had suggested to Major Lewis, a friend of the institution, that it would be a good time for the hero of New Orleans to signalize the 8th of January, 1833, just prior to his retirement, by a complete discharge of the public debt. Jackson was pleased with the idea. There is no indication that either of the two men had at this time any but friendly regard for the other. Biddle at once submitted a plan for the extinction of the national debt, and at the same time presented an argument for the renewal of the Bank's charter. In his reply to this the president expressed himself as opposed to the project of Biddle, and stated his constitutional objections, yet intimating that a bank was necessary for carrying out the financial operations of the government and was constitutional if placed in the District of Columbia. The letter is interesting:

"Mr. Biddle: I was very thankful to you for your plan of paying off the debt sent to Major Lewis. I thought it my duty to submit it to you.

"I would have no difficulty in recommending it to Congress, but I think it right to be perfectly frank with you. I do not think that the power of Congress extends to charter a Bank ought [*sic*] of the ten miles square. . . . I have read the opinion of John Marshall, who I believe was a great and pure mind—and could not agree with him—though if he had said, that as it was necessary for the purposes of the national government there ought to be a national bank, I should have been disposed to concur."

Elsewhere in the letter he wrote:

"I do not dislike your bank any more than all banks. But ever since I read the history of the South Sea Bubble I have been afraid of banks."

At the same time he said that he recognized the services of the Bank and would mention it in his forthcoming message.

Within a few days after sending his plan for a recharter, Biddle went to Washington for an interview with Jackson and his advisers. He got nothing more from the president, but left pleased with the conversation, and spoke to his friends in an unguarded manner of what had been said in the interview. Rumors reached the president that Biddle had assured some individuals that the good will of the president might be relied upon to secure a renewal of the charter. Jackson was incensed. Though Biddle denied spreading the statement of the president's friendliness to the Bank, he did not dream that Jackson was so soon to whip sword out of sheath and smite the "monster." The president had plainly not dealt fairly with Biddle in the conversation, for when the message of December 8, 1829, appeared, the most surprised man in the country was Nicholas Biddle. He expected commendation, and was not disappointed. In the arrangements for paying off the debt the "judicious" management was publicly praised. But the bitter dose was

not sweetened by the thin coating of eulogy. The situation was alarming.

In his message, Jackson affirmed that "both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this Bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency." The supporters of the Bank were cut to the quick more by the charge of the inefficiency of the Bank than by the declaration of its unconstitutionality.

Whether Jackson knew just what kind of bank he did want is not certain, but it appears that it would have resembled somewhat the present sub-treasury system, with the added features of exchange trading, and of receiving private deposits.

The parts of the message relating to the Bank were referred in the Senate to the Committee on Finance and in the House to the Committee of Ways and Means. In the latter the committee acquiesced in the appeal of Biddle to discuss the message and to recommend a recharter, and both it and the Senate committee reported in favor of the Bank. McDuffie's report to the House was thorough, controverting the reasoning of the president at every point, and not hesitating to refer in contemptuous terms to Jackson's proposed bank. This report was scattered broadcast by Biddle. But to contradict the old soldier was to enrage him and fix him in his views. His temper was now thoroughly aroused, as can be seen in a letter of his in which he mentioned the Bank three separate times as "the hydra of corruption." Biddle spent the summer of 1829 in replying to the assaults of the newspapers supposed to voice the sentiments of the administration, refusing to believe that the president could entertain an implacable hostility to the corporation. And even after the second annual message, in which Jackson chilled the hopes of Biddle, Major Lewis declared that the hatred of the president was only against the Bank "in its present form," and that a bill to

recharter "with certain modifications" would gain the favor of the president. So the conflict deepened: Biddle flooding the country with publications in defence and the partisans of Jackson replying with equal torrents of abuse of the Bank. The full force of the storm broke later.

One of the first questions which Jackson had to take in hand was that of the relations of the Indians with the States in the Southwest. This chapter may be brought to a close with a summary of the disposition of the Indians in the South and the Northwest. In the Northern States where remnants of tribes were under the jurisdiction of State authority no serious problem confronted the people, but in the South, as we have already stated, the situation was different. Large bodies of Indians there claimed to be independent and made their appeals to the national government, and demanded a recognition of their right to be treated as in some sort sovereign peoples. Fate was against them. In December, 1829, Jackson in his annual message supported in vigorous fashion the contention of Georgia that it had indisputable right to extend its State laws over the whole of the Cherokee Territory. The law passed by the State legislature was shamefully oppressive in its prohibition of the emigration of the Indians and the sale of their lands. Yet the severely critical historian, Von Holst, is candid enough to say: "Justice, however, demands the statement that the condition of things which the Cherokees wished could not be maintained in the long run." The Cherokees were within their rights in demanding the protection of the sovereignty of the United States. "But a political community in the territory of one or more of the States of the Union, under the sovereignty of the Union, and yet not constitutionally in the Union, this was an anomaly which could not last. The real circumstances of the case were stronger than the stipulated right. But a juster and more humane compromise between the stipulated right and the demands of facts should have been found, and would have been, if men had wished to find it."

When the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States, Wirt, the ex-attorney general, took the case of the Cherokees and made a most powerful argument against the claims of Georgia that it had power to extend its jurisdiction over Cherokee Territory. But the case was dismissed by the decision of Justice Marshall that, because in the complaint of the Cherokees they were described as "a foreign state," they could not bring a case before the federal courts, as they were not rightly described "in the sense of the Constitution." Yet when the Chief Justice attempted to correct a death sentence issued by the State Court against a murderer in the Cherokee Territory, the State of Georgia in its heated temper brushed the correction aside with impetuous asperity, and the legislature denounced such "flagrant violation of the rights" of the State.

The unequal conflict between the State and the unfriended Indians could have only one issue. Against each new exercise of oppressive might the natives appealed in vain. Speaking of the Indian, Clay asserted that "he possessed not one single right of a freeman." Harassed and baffled, and being often sent in chains to "headquarters," then set free because the law did not authorize his imprisonment, he set his face to the westering sun. Now that the red men were more dependent than their fathers upon the help of the white man, they were thrust away from his hand, and pushed on to a pitiful doom. The forced migrations under which Choctaw and Cherokee changed their homes were pictured with minute delineation by a noted visitor who saw hunger in their rear, war awaiting them, and misery for their environment. Watching them cross the Mississippi, De Tocqueville declared his inability to portray their sufferings. "These savages had left their country, and were endeavoring to gain the right bank of the Mississippi where they hoped to find an asylum which had been promised them by the American government. It was then—1831—in the middle of winter, and the cold was unusually

severe; the snow had frozen hard upon the ground, and the river was drifting huge masses of ice. The Indians had their families with them; and they brought in their train the wounded and the sick, with children newly born, and old men upon the verge of death. They possessed neither tents nor wagons, but only their arms and some provisions. I saw them embark to pass the mighty river, and never will that solemn spectacle fade from my remembrance. No cry, no sob, was heard amongst the assembled crowd; all were silent. Their calamities were of ancient date, and they knew them to be irremediable. The Indians had all stepped into the bark which was to carry them across, but their dogs remained upon the bank. As soon as these animals perceived that their masters were finally leaving the shore, they set up a dismal howl, and plunging altogether into the icy waters of the Mississippi, swam after the boat." In the case of the Cherokees the picture was not realized until about the end of Jackson's second term. Two missionaries of the American Board who labored among the Cherokees were arrested and tried upon the charge of inciting the Indians to resist the policy of the State of Georgia, and were sentenced to the State prison. Their appeal by writ of error went to the Supreme Court. Justice Marshall held in their favor that the treaties between the United States and the Cherokees were valid and paramount to all State laws. The attorneys of the missionaries, however, could not secure the enforcement of this judgment. Jackson was outspoken in behalf of the State, and said: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." The president opposed any partial migration, and brought his influence to bear to secure the removal of the Indians as a whole. The position of Georgia was strengthened by the rising of two factions among the Indians, the one in favor of, and the other set against, any treaty looking to a cession of their lands. On December 29, 1835, a treaty was signed with a few of the chiefs by which all the remaining Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi were turned over for

five million dollars and lands in the West. The action of the chiefs did not reconcile many of the tribes to the prospect. Public sentiment throughout the United States became deeply stirred in sympathy with the Indians. Webster, Calhoun, and Clay echoed in Congress the popular condemnation of the New Echota treaty. But opposition died away, and within three years the last party of the Cherokees turned their faces to the West.

Jackson was set on the removal of all the Indians to the West. In the present Northwestern States the last struggle attending such deportation took place during the Black Hawk War. In 1830 the Sacs and Foxes ceded their lands in Illinois to the United States, and then declined to leave. On the appearance of Governor Reynolds with his militiamen to force their retirement beyond the Mississippi, the Indians under Black Hawk, a chief of the Sacs, refused submission and began to ravage the frontier. In March, 1832, Black Hawk penetrated the country about Rock Island. He met successive defeats and finally at Bad Axe, on the left bank of the Mississippi, his forces were dispersed, and he was taken prisoner.

More serious and longer strife came with the effort of the administration to clear the Indians from Florida. There the Seminoles had harbored fugitive slaves from South Carolina and Georgia, and intermingled with them in marriage. The Everglades suited and encouraged a wild and half savage life, but the States affected determined that they should not be an asylum for runaway slaves. In 1823, a treaty had confined the Indians to a reservation on the Eastern peninsula. Another treaty of 1832 proposed that if the Creeks and the Seminoles could settle amicably together they should go west of the Mississippi. Seven chiefs of the latter tribe signed a treaty, leaving a portion of the Seminoles opposed to removing. They had seceded years before from the Creeks whom they were now urged to join. At this time the number of slaves held by the Seminoles was estimated at two hundred, and the exiles and

free negroes at six times that number. Many of the latter had intermarried with the Indians. Osceola was a young chief whose wife had been carried away into hopeless bondage. Osceola was himself manacled and thrown into prison, where he remained for six days. He vowed bitter vengeance and at the first opportunity killed the agent, Mr. Thompson, after which he joined his companions. In November, Major F. L. Dade was ordered to prepare for a march to Fort King, a hundred and thirty miles distant from Tampa Bay, where he held his command. In going through the great Wahoo swamp he was betrayed by his guide and the whole force of one hundred and ten men, two soldiers excepted, were cruelly massacred. This occurred on the 28th of December, 1835, and inaugurated a war which proved to be costly in blood and treasure. General Jesup was ordered to conduct the struggle to its finish. Sixteen months of bloodshed ensued until the spring of 1837, when a conference was held with some of the Indian chiefs at which they agreed to an enforced emigration if they could be guaranteed their lives, liberty, and property. Even Osceola agreed to emigrate. Slave-hunters desired to go among the Indians to reclaim fugitive negroes, but this was denied them. However, the clamorous demands of slaveowners for their lost property greatly stirred the Seminoles, and resulted in a renewal of hostilities. The Cherokees were induced to mediate between the contestants and one of their influential men, John Ross, wrote a letter to the Seminoles, assuring them that they might trust the honor of the United States. While this assurance was made in good faith, it was used for the betrayal of the long-suffering warrior of the Everglades; for Osceola was induced to come to the camp of the soldiers a few miles from St. Augustine to negotiate for peace, as he thought. He had with him a hundred Indians and as many negroes. Contrary to the expectation of the Indians that they would be escorted into St. Augustine and there dealt with in honorable fashion, they were surrounded, disarmed, and imprisoned, though they had come to the

camp under the white flag. Osceola was taken to Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor and there died of grief. The war continued for five years longer, being concluded in a great battle near Lake Okechobee, in which the American soldiers were commanded by General Zachary Taylor.

CHAPTER XII

NULLIFICATION—THE BANK

GENERAL JACKSON had not been in office a year before ominous notes of discontent were heard in the South. The fact that the interests of the Northern and Southern groups of States were unlike, and that their products, their labor systems, and their prospects were being made reasons for secession on the part of some in the South gave concern to all lovers of the Union. The excitement of the election of Jackson had preoccupied all minds for the time. Now that the field was clear for a full discussion of points of difference, any slight occasion would serve to set the sections in array.

The beginning of the contest that was to bitterly antagonize the South against the North on commercial questions came before the close of Adams's administration. When in January, 1827, the woollen manufacturers asked for aid it was the casting vote of Calhoun in the Senate that killed the bill that was designed to meet their wishes. Then came the Harrisburg convention in the summer of 1827. The South had been jubilant; now it grew sullen. Dr. Thomas Cooper delivered a notable speech at Columbia, South Carolina, immediately after the tariff convention was held in which he declared that the alternative to "submission" was "separation." The Act of 1828 fixing the rates to favor manufacturers created a tempest in South Carolina. The planters had complained with an increasing sense of their "wrongs" even before the passage of the Act, and

now their temper was fast growing implacable. The argument of the protectionists that after some hidden fashion the system was of universal benefit failed to convince the cotton raisers in the South. The planters asserted that they paid the cost of the experiment and declared that the men most eager for the adoption of the system got the most profit from it.

Then, too, the Jackson men were not in the best frame of mind, as they remembered that they were beaten in the game their party had proposed. The intricate scheme whereby they had thought to defeat the New Englanders harmfully involved its originators, and there was nothing to do but to protect their own interests at all hazards. Confidence in their ability to state their case was well grounded; they claimed the acutest political thinker in the Union. John Caldwell Calhoun furnished in his *Exposition* a succinct presentation of the tariff situation, as he saw it, and put into shape what was hanging in solution in many minds. This paper was made the basis of action by the South Carolina legislature in its first pronunciamento upon the subject. The *Exposition* as approved by the legislature summed up the opposition to the Tariff Act of 1828 in the assertion that it was unconstitutional, unequal, oppressive, and calculated to corrupt the public virtue and destroy the liberty of the country. The right of interposition in behalf of the reserved rights of the States was asserted, but the time was postponed, as it was thought that with the new president in the chair at Washington something might be gained for the cause of South Carolina. Of other Southern States which gave expression to their views of nullification, Georgia and Virginia took the most advanced ground. Alabama denounced the tariff, but recognized the right of Congress to levy revenue duties with indirect protective effect. North Carolina denounced both the tariff and nullification.

The public land question may appear afar removed from the matter of the tariff, yet the two were sufficiently connected in their issues to enable disputants in each field to

move freely back and forth. Nationalism meant control of western territory. Yet the lands of the vast West were not a source of income to the national treasury. As late as September, 1832, the lands had cost over forty-nine million dollars, with a total revenue amounting to barely over thirty-eight million. Before Jackson's election various plans had been proposed for dealing with the lands. One of these plans suggested that the States should take and hold the lands by virtue of their "sovereignty." First settlers should organize a State and then seize the rest of the land within the civil jurisdiction. Another plan proposed to sell to the States at a nominal price. Another, to give the land to actual settlers. Another, to use the lands as a fund for internal improvements and education. New States wanted the government to make surveys, to attract immigration, and to make the new territory a valuable asset. But every inducement to the wage earner in the old tariff States to move West meant so much withdrawal of laborers from factory to independent farm life, and forced capital to raise wages if it would retain them. Thus it was to the interests of protectionists to keep the nation from improving its public lands and attracting laborers from their old homes. In the South, free trade, and in the West, free land, naturally formed a coalition for mutual protection against the interests of eastern capitalists. The "great debate" of 1830 sprung from a proposition to limit, as the westerners thought, the area of settlement in the West in the interest of Eastern manufactures. Now if immigrants from the East could make large purchases of lands in the Mississippi valley, why erect protective tariffs for the benefit of the East and at the same time close the market in western lands? So the South, suffering as she thought under the restrictive tariff, and the West, neglected, as she thought from the jealousy of the East, drew together in natural sympathy.

In December, 1829, Senator Samuel A. Foote, of Connecticut, offered a simple resolution asking for an inquiry into the expediency of suspending the sales of public lands.

Benton, the champion of the West, took up the cudgels in the interest of the expanding nation, and assailed the motion of Foote as insulting and injurious. The debate spread and passed to others. For the North, Daniel Webster, and for the South, Robert Y. Hayne, said the utmost word.

These two men were the consummate expressions of their respective States. In mental discipline, in inherited temper, and in their full appreciation of the crisis, each orator brought to the Senate all that could fascinate every mind and imagination. Hayne was thirty-eight years old, Webster ten years his senior. Both were in their prime of ability and popular regard. Hayne had entered the Senate in 1822, the youngest member ever sent from South Carolina. At about the same age, Webster had entered the House. Neither lacked the power that accompanies ample experience and noble self-confidence. The high-bred air of Hayne gave him access to all circles. The magnificent presence of Webster led men to wonder if he were as great as he looked to be. Hayne possessed an irresistible charm of manner which, according to McDuffie, "nearly produced a disposition to be convinced before he began his argument." Yet his ornate rhetoric attracted more than his reasoning convinced. Webster's wonderful brow, eyes, and voice, were those of one of the world's orators whose peers have to be sought for at long intervals of recorded triumphs in supreme speech. Each man moved his auditory to the utmost, but the longer impression was created by Webster. There was an exhilaration in following the adroit and happy eloquence of Hayne which in the case of Webster became a sort of awe at the exhibition of sublime oratory.

Both men were thoroughly prepared. Hayne had for counsellor Calhoun, the ablest thinker of the South, who though the presiding officer of the Senate, was in closest touch with the debater. Hayne was something more than the mere mouthpiece of the vice-president, yet he was fortunate in having him at call for nightly conference during

the continuance of the debate. For his part Webster was fully equipped. It appears, that, contrary to the former belief in the semi-spontaneity of the great speech of Webster, it was the result of premeditation. He was prepared for an issue which may have been sought for by him. S. G. Goodrich tells of his method of preparation of special passages which he held in readiness for the proper moment. His famous tribute to the British Empire, "whose morning drumbeat following the sun," Webster said came to him when meditating on the ramparts of Quebec. He wrote it out, not once but many times, until it suited him. In this way, both as to the long perspective of his matchless oration and its more polished passages he was in readiness. His calm on the day before he spoke reassured Edward Everett, who had been apprehensive lest the South should overwhelm the North in debate. To Senator Clayton, anxious that he should be fully aware of the huge task ahead, and who asked him: "Are you well charged?" "Seven fingers," he replied, in a low tone, and walked to his seat. Four fingers, in terms of the sportsman, was a full load.

In his first speech against Foote's resolution, Hayne took occasion to rap New England for her alleged inimical policy to the growth of the West. The debate taking a turn foreign to the purpose of the mover of the resolution, Webster moved an indefinite postponement, but in doing so he designedly enlarged the scope of the debate and drew the fire of the South. The words of Hayne uttered on January 19, 1830, in which he said that there was "no evil more to be deprecated than the consolidation of this government" gave Webster his chance on the next day, and he dealt a blow at the mischief makers of South Carolina, saying, however: "The honorable member is not, I trust, and can never be one of these." Hayne was compelled to commit himself.

On Monday, the 25th of January, Hayne took up the defence of his cause and made the most effective speech of his life. As he had accused Webster of assailing the South,

he now with biting phrase bent his attack upon New England. He then took up the sectional issue and defended the position of South Carolina with rather inconsistent logic, for he based the right of nullification upon the arguments of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, quoting at length the views of Jefferson and Madison, meanwhile denouncing the Hartford Convention, which like himself had gone back to the same papers of 1798 for justification of its criticism of centralization. In this speech Hayne did not elaborate a statement of the doctrine of nullification, but he built up his argument for its future enunciation. Loud and exultant praise from all Hayne's friends approved his handling of the matter in debate. It is said that before Webster began his reply a Southerner could be detected by his air of lively confidence, while a Yankee appeared depressed. This may be too vivid a reflection of the concealed antagonisms which beat in men's bosoms, yet it is true that the event of Webster's rejoinder was awaited with strained expectation. Hayne closed at four o'clock. A motion to adjourn prevented Webster from immediately beginning his reply.

Early in the morning of the 26th a fellow senator said to Webster: "It is a critical moment, and it is time, high time, that the people of this country should know what the Constitution is." Webster replied with solemn gravity: "Then by the blessing of Heaven, they shall learn this day before the sun goes down what I understand it to be."

When he rose to speak, his allusion to the storm-tossed mariner and his call for the original resolution promised great things for his cause, and right nobly did he meet all expectations. A fellow senator likened his elocution to the flow of molten gold. He denied the right of any State to stop the progress of the general government "by force of her own laws under any circumstances whatever." In stating the origin of the government he said: "It is, sir, the people's constitution, the people's government; made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the

people." In case of conflict between the States and the Union who shall be the arbiter? The Union is a rope of sand unless there be a power independent of the States to settle such questions. There were not twenty-four interpreters of constitutional law. There could not be two sovereignties with equal powers. This government is not the creature of State legislatures, but a national one able to enforce its own laws and endowed with every obligation to self preservation. His encomium upon Massachusetts and his glowing peroration satisfied State pride on the one hand and on the other stamped him as the leader of a new patriotism. Senator Benton was disposed to ridicule the golden periods with which he drew his vision of an indissoluble Union to its close, and yet he was not ready to associate himself with the Nullifiers of South Carolina. He could not bring himself to believe that men anywhere in the Union were quick to hatch a plan for dismembering it, and while his whole career shows us a man in sympathy with the South and the West, he was none the less a loyal advocate of the supremacy of the national government.

The climax had been reached. Hayne rose in rejoinder as Webster took his seat. To him Webster made a compact reply, summarizing his views. For a month the debate dragged on, but without even bringing the original resolution to a vote. Without claiming to settle the much-argued question as to which of the two orators more nearly represented the original purpose of the makers of the Constitution, or to say which of the two stood for the past, as has been affirmed concerning Hayne, and which for the future, as has been affirmed concerning Webster, it is sufficient to note that the North and the West had been moving forward in the line of the nation's evolution, while the South had stood still since the time of the Missouri Compromise; South Carolina, especially, had not made progress as a defender of the Union. Before that time it had been in the front of those who proudly claimed the honor of belonging to the nation. It had now come to

pass in the evolution of sectional economics and political thought that it had retrograded. If it be true that Hayne was the literalist and rested his case upon the Resolutions of 1798, it is also true that the whole progress of the nation had discarded them, and it was a difficult matter for a spokesman of the South to harmonize the theory of 1798 and the actual concrete position of the nation in 1830. It may be that few men in 1798 realized what had been done in the making of the Constitution, and were loath to surrender theories which had exalted the States as old time sovereignties, but it must be borne in mind that the progressive forces of the nation might be expected to fill with larger life the very words with which the fathers had outlined the powers of the nation. The wine-skin of every untested theory is in jeopardy when the new life presses upon its verbal texture.

Argument for the time being could go no further. The Nullifiers now turned to the executive for whatever of hope might be found in him. It was somewhat doubtful what Jackson would say or do, but men were not long in discovering his position. A celebration of Jefferson's birthday was arranged by the State Rights people for the 13th of April, and the president was the chief guest. It was a time of toasts indeed; twenty-four regular and eighteen volunteer toasts were given. The ghost of Jefferson was frequently invoked. The object of the banquet was political. The president was asked for a volunteer sentiment; he replied with: "Our Federal Union; it *must* be preserved." The vice-president followed with: "The Union, next to our liberty, the most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union." The most extreme toast was that of the fiery Governor Troup, of Georgia: "The government of the United States; with more limited powers than the republic of San Marino, it rules an empire more extended than the Roman, with the absoluteness of Tiberius, with less wisdom

than Augustus, and with less justice than Trajan or the Antonines." Jackson's toast was not impromptu, but one of three he had prepared with care, deciding finally to give the pithiest one.

Though some of the Nullifiers contended that the toast of the president was in keeping with their theory of the way to preserve the Union, as set forth in Calhoun's toast, yet it was accepted by the country at large as a succinct version of Webster's long oration.

Neither in theory nor practice was nullification unique in the history of the Union. Before Washington reached the close of his administration the Supreme Court decided that a State could be sued by a citizen of another State, and it had the Constitution at its back in the suit. Massachusetts was sued and in legislative capacity resolved to ignore the suit. Georgia was sued, and with fiery impetuosity threatened with death any Federal official who should attempt to "serve any process against the State at the suit of an individual." This stiff opposition produced the Eleventh Constitutional Amendment, by which many States have been enabled to repudiate their debts.

In the times of the Alien and Sedition laws the domination of Massachusetts and Connecticut became intolerable to the South. John Tyler, of Virginia, thought it "was not unwise now to estimate the separate mass of Virginia and North Carolina with a view to their separate existence." Yet the logic of Jefferson was penetrating enough to see that it would not be wise to proceed immediately to a disruption of the Union when party passion was at such a height. "If we now reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between those two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units." Expediency was more the guide than the principle at the time. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were rather a sort of official record which might be used to advantage at a later time, when the prospect would be brighter for a practical separation, than a signal

for a secessionist movement. The theory was now only in black and white. It was tabooed by other States. At first Jefferson was unwilling to have his share known in the drafting of the Resolutions. It was not till 1821 that he acknowledged that they originated with him. Madison had grave doubts of their constitutionality, as is plain to be seen from his words uttered after the death of Jefferson.

Sectional jealousy proved good soil for the political theory. Neither the North nor the South had exclusive proprietorship in the planting or of the fruits thereof. The election of Jefferson and the purchase of Louisiana bore hard upon the extreme Federalists, and some of them, like Timothy Pickering proposed in 1803 a withdrawal from the Union. But none of the evil prophecies of the broken-hearted Federalists were realized. The country was growing fast and strong. In the conviction of the good of the hour the Constitution was interpreted in the light of its purpose of self preservation.

Again, in the conduct of the War of 1812 this spirit of willingness to let things run to their ruin, so far as the nation was concerned, came to a head in the Hartford Convention of 1814. The argument of this body of Nullifiers was that of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. But the country pushed on and left to oblivion all the members of the Convention. The people came to accept the mighty interpretation of the swelling life of the nation as settling some theories of the relation of State to nation. Concrete history could not be ordered out of court when it offered evidence upon the meaning of the Constitution. In the North and the West people had, in the main, outgrown the fears and dreams of nullification, and at the end of the war the whole country was practically a unit in upholding national honor. What Dr. Von Holst calls the solidarity of the people as a safety valve, or safeguard from the possible extremes of passionate leaders, is to be found recognized in a statement of Niles, when writing in 1828 upon the efforts of the men of 1798-1799, of 1805-1806,

of 1815, and of his own time, to sunder the Union: "But whatever have been, or may be the designs of individuals, we have always believed, and yet trust, that the vast body of the people ever have been and are, warmly attached to the Union; and that it never perhaps was really more strong than when it seemed endangered, even during the darkest period of the late war."

The bliss of the man who is not compelled to condemn in himself what he finds blameworthy in another is an old saw in history. Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, during the war of 1812 declared the Federalist intrigue was "moral treason," and Calhoun on January 15, 1814, quoted him with hearty approval. But the pendulum swung to the other extreme in the thirties. The cry of one section was stilled and in another it was in the mouth of the majority. The era of good feelings bred only personal scandals and left party conflicts to slumber. In Adams's time there was much "manceuvring for position." Jackson, a military man, relying upon popular enthusiasm, secured the vantage ground. Every instinct of the soldier, no matter what his political creed was, might be relied on to defend what ministered to the support of his position as head of the nation.

Up to the time of the Missouri Compromise and somewhat after, Calhoun was a consistent and proud nationalist. His State evinced no desire to parade or even to encourage sectionalism. Indeed there was no need for any exhibition of a spirit of isolation such as flamed up in South Carolina in Jackson's first administration. Those who supported the tariff of 1816 were not in the same case as the men who bitterly fought the tariff of 1828. It is not surprising that a State in trouble over its economic conditions, like South Carolina, should have looked about for some precedent for revolt from an enactment which it believed to be the cause of its depression. Nor is it strange that a State like Ohio, for example, untroubled by doubts over its economic future, growing with the mighty growth of the

new day, should have been led to interpret the Constitution freely in the line of its progress. For it the precedent of 1798 was useless, was outgrown. For the other State it seemed to have validity.

The rise of the anti-slavery sentiment at the same time as the tariff excitement was oil added to the fire of sectional antagonism. The protective principle which Calhoun and other Southerners had once favored was now under ban in the South, and the demand was for free trade for the sake of cotton. The Palmetto State had no manufactures. Her slaves and her cotton went together. So free trade and negro slavery went hand in hand as cognate principles. It little mattered if Madison was now denying the conclusions of nullification drawn from his writings of 1798. The winds of discontent were blowing South Carolina hard toward separation. True, the South Carolinians said, like the Hartford men, that they were criticising the Union in order that they might save the Union. But the progress of events went against their logic.

In 1820, Calhoun was far more liberal than men like James Hamilton and Robert Y. Hayne. Judge William Smith, of South Carolina, even opposed Calhoun, and had a strong ally in Dr. Thomas Cooper, then a resident of the same State. The latter was of English birth and of Oxford training, no ordinary man, though John Quincy Adams called him "a learned, ingenious, scientific, and talented mad-cap." In 1830, President Jackson wrote to J. R. Poinsett that the doctor's abilities made him "doubly dangerous." Just when the change came over Calhoun it is difficult to discover. He had been a liberal, a nationalist, a protectionist. Soon after the inauguration of Jackson, he appears as a conservative, a free trader, a nullifier. It is evident that a great gap exists in the views of Calhoun as expressed in 1816 and in 1833. In his speech of April 6, 1816, on the tariff bill, Calhoun was most pronounced in favor of the measure as tending to bind the States together. In "disunion" he saw "comprehended almost the sum of our

political dangers, and against it we ought to be perpetually guarded." The Act of 1828 saw him moving with his State, but he did not take the initiative till 1830. How largely his position, in 1830, was due to his differences with the president and his disappointment over the poor prospects for the presidency will, perhaps, never be settled.

South Carolina, too, had its disappointment. It was that it could not rely on Jackson. He had been the idol of the State, had its utmost confidence, had been in every man's mouth for praise. But curses took the place of blessings. The change came suddenly. The doctrine of nullification was first proclaimed in 1827 by R. J. Turnbull, who had taken his first manhood oath to support the Constitution of South Carolina before that of the United States. He attacked in an article, *The Crisis*, the tendency of the government toward centralization. He advocated immediate resistance, secession, independence. In this he anticipated Calhoun. When Calhoun was forced to break with the president, his path was ready for him. *The Crisis* moved too fast for his purposes, but it gave him standing ground when the crisis in action should come.

Jackson's distrust of Calhoun, both as to his loyalty to himself and to the nation, came to a head a month after the banquet of April 13th. The letter he wrote on May 13th to Calhoun to know if he, the secretary of war in 1818, had proposed the arrest of General Jackson for his transgression of orders threw Calhoun back upon his State, for between him and the president there was now a gulf. Matters personal, matters social, and matters political, the correspondence about the Seminole war, the Eaton scandal, and the South Carolina delirium combined to make that gulf impassable.

The breakup of the Cabinet threw Calhoun's friends back into obscurity or upon the suffrages of their fellows for office. Van Buren, to whose machinations, rightly or not, Calhoun referred the bitter feeling between himself and the president, presented a smoothly phrased note of resignation

in April, 1831, suggesting that candidates for the succession ought not to embarrass the administration by further official connection with it. Before this, Eaton, with like self denial, though not with the same reason, had offered his resignation. Jackson was quick to turn upon Calhoun's friends in the Cabinet, Ingham, Branch, and Berrien, and they resigned under pressure. Barry, the postmaster-general, was held to answer charges of mismanagement. As if to heighten the sensation, the Eaton scandal was now given to the public, and Washington society was divided into bitterly hostile camps.

The new Cabinet secured popular favor. Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, able, affable, learned, at this time sure of a renown which he had left New York years before to gain in a new field, was chosen secretary of state. Louis McLane was called back from London to be made secretary of the treasury. Van Buren was sent during the vacation of Congress to take the place just vacated, as Minister to the Court of St. James. Confirmation by the Senate, however, was denied, and the fact of the non-approval of Jackson's appointment was to be used against Van Buren in his campaign for the presidency. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, became secretary of war. Levi Woodbury, lately a senator from New Hampshire, was chosen secretary of the navy. Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, was the new attorney-general. Eaton was rewarded with the governorship of Florida, and later on was sent as Minister to Spain. On his return he became estranged from Jackson and Democracy. The final stirrings of the Seminole affair faded away at the bedside of the dying Monroe, who testified under oath that he had not authorized General Jackson by means of the "Rhea letter" to push his military schemes to the end, and the country dropped the whole matter when Monroe passed away.

Calhoun now gave his closest attention to the affairs of his native State. He bent his powerful mind to confirm his followers in the theory of their right to oppose federal

authority. Calhoun saw that he could not hope to include the president in any scheme for the abolition of the protective system and as he and his State had gone too far to turn back, there was nothing to do but to put to the stiffest test the power of a State to nullify Congressional acts of which it disapproved.

That the president was in a measure independent even of his party friends was shown in his veto of the Maysville and Lexington turnpike bill. Though the pike was to have run through the strongest Jackson district in the state of Kentucky, he promptly killed the bill. Other bills he arrested during their progress in Congress, thus giving ample illustration of his power over legislation. Jackson was opposed to originating or aiding public works from the federal treasury. Special legislation, log-rolling, jobbery, monopoly he detested. He did much to suppress the tendency to corruption in such enterprises. Yet it must not be thought that the personal attitude of Jackson toward road-making at the expense of the government wholly accounted for the refusal of the administration to aid such ventures. Railroads were now being built by private capital, and such investment expressed the latest feeling of the people toward internal improvements.

The question of federal encouragement of internal improvements cannot be connected with the question of slavery, but there was an increasing disposition to connect slavery with protection. The effort to repeal the tariff of 1828 brought to the front a consciousness that the men of South Carolina were not in accord with the position of Jackson on the tariff, and also that slavery and free trade were intimately allied. An argument that well expressed the sentiments of the exasperated South, was uttered by George McDuffie, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. As the political economist of the slave-labor system he received the enthusiastic support of those in his State who saw the decline under which South Carolina was suffering, and were searching for its sufficient reason.

McDuffie had been the first honor man of his class in college, and his commencement oration was upon "The Permanence of the Union." He possessed one of the keenest of minds, and with persistent courage equal to his intelligence, at forty years of age, in 1828, he stood up to threaten the protectionists with the prospect of the economic change in the South which would make that section the dangerous rival of the North. But closer examination of the slavery question led him to doubt the ability of the South to challenge the North for supremacy in economic progress, and he then, in 1830, gave utterance to his theory that producers of exports pay finally the duties on imports, and concluded that one-fifth of the people, living in the planting section, paid more than half of all duties on imports. If so, grievous indeed was the situation of the South, and her right to wrath might well be conceded. But the facts were against the logic of the fiery speaker. The country was not exporting more than it imported. The report of the secretary of the treasury for 1854-1855 shows that for twelve years previous to 1833, the balance on the side of imports amounted to over one hundred millions. Nevertheless the conduct of the majority was irritating, and South Carolina was falling behind in the race, other sections were passing her, and fields and homes were being deserted by whole communities migrating to Alabama and Louisiana. The consciousness of this decline "came suddenly," as James Hamilton expressed it, and in 1830, South Carolina was ready for just such action as was taken by the Nullifiers.

In the State elections of 1830, the Unionists hardly held in check the movement to call a convention to nullify the tariff laws. Nothing of moment occurred till the summer of 1831, when on the 4th of July both sides used the day to arouse enthusiasm. At an elaborate dinner held by the Unionists, a letter was read from the president which vigorously deprecated disunion. Rumors of this letter drifted over to a still more elaborate dinner held by the Nullifiers.

Wrath was restrained for a time, but on the assembling of the legislature it had full vent. Were they to be schooled by the president? Not they. He, the "agent of an agency," to call them to task for their views of the Constitution! It was too much.

A great convention of Nullifiers was held in Columbia on the 22d of February, 1832. When it was found that Congress had delayed satisfactory action, there remained nothing but resistance. "Nullification was the legitimate, peaceful, and rightful remedy." South Carolina read the signs of the times aright. Congress could not hope to conciliate this State. It spent a large part of its first session in an exhaustive discussion of the principles of the tariff. Clay championed the bill for the tariff, which became a law in July. He was willing to amend in the direction of economy, but not willing to surrender the principle of protection. Hayne stood for the South again and urged that Congress was barred from choosing its own revenue policy. But history in Clay's mouth was too strong for the opposition. He instanced with effect the equivocal attitudes of the present day free traders. Calhoun, gravely speaking from the chair, said that he considered a protective tariff unconstitutional. Clay replied: "When in 1816 we worked together in Congress side by side, I did not understand the gentleman to contend that such a policy was unconstitutional."—"The Constitutional question was not then debated," replied Calhoun, "but I have never expressed an opinion contrary to the present."—"No, sir," retorted Clay, "it was not debated at that time, for it was not then considered debatable."

The Act, as finally passed on July 14th, abolished many of the revenue taxes, but made no material alteration in protective taxes. Reductions were made in taxes on iron; the tax on woollens was raised fifty per cent, and woollen yarn was for the first time made dutiable. The principle of protection, though not argued, was not left in doubt in the Act.

In resuming the history of the Bank, we find that Jackson's second message of December, 1830, gave Biddle little

hope, though Major Lewis thought the Bank might live, after some modifications had been made, if the president were not aroused to antagonism. But this hope went to the winds when the newspapers of the opposition began their vicious assault upon the message, contemptuous enough to sting to action a man less irritable than Jackson. What flattery might have moderated into compromise, scorn hardened into immitigable wrath. Biddle flooded the country with articles at the Bank's expense. Nor were the partisans of Jackson less alive to the call of the hour. F. P. Blair, in the *Globe*, fulminated with vigor against the proposition to recharter the Bank. State legislatures joined the hue and cry. The New York Assembly, doubtless under the influence of Van Buren, passed resolutions against the Bank. On the other hand, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a resolution, by a large majority, requesting the president to sign a bill for recharter.

With these two giant States taking opposite sides, Jackson might well have been expected to pause, and to walk carefully. Biddle felt at first that the question of the charter was too delicate to be made a matter of political discussion. He feared the malign influence of "party considerations." Livingston thought the president might "acquiesce in a recharter" if given time. But any proposition to force a measure upon the executive before election would be taken by him as a defiance.

For a while the sky appeared to be clearing. Louis McLane, of Delaware, a conservative financier, had taken the place of Ingham, whose correspondence with Biddle had been unfortunate for peace. Success seemed to be in sight for the friends of the Bank. The two secretaries, Livingston and McLane, were using their influence with Jackson to get his assent to a recharter. The Bank was not to ask for a recharter until after the election, and was to make such amendments of its charter as the president was known to desire. The message of December 6, 1831, was not definite enough to suit Biddle. Its ambiguity aroused suspicion,

for Jackson was willing to "leave it [the matter of the Bank] for the present to the investigations of an enlightened people." In this there lurked a cautious challenge. On this Biddle took a step fatal to the interests of the Bank and made it a political issue in the campaign of 1832.

The twenty-second Congress assembled on December 5, 1831. Its opening days gave no hint of the brilliant and violent debates which for two sessions made this Congress a magnet of interest. Calhoun sat, sphinx-like, in the chair of the Senate. He championed Democracy but hated Jackson. On the floor were Webster and Clay, the latter, after a long absence, to assume the leadership of the opposition. In the list of the members of the two Houses there was much talent. Men then famous and men to become famous debated measures of the utmost importance; in the Senate were W. L. Marcy, of New York; John Tyler, of Virginia; R. Y. Hayne, of South Carolina; George Troup, of Georgia; Felix Grundy, of Tennessee; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio; T. H. Benton, of Missouri, and W. R. King, of Alabama; in the House were John Quincy Adams, Rufus Choate, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; J. M. Mason, J. Y. Mason, and George McDuffie, from South Carolina; John Bell and J. K. Polk, from Tennessee; Thomas Corwin, from Ohio; Thomas Marshall and Charles Wickliffe, from Kentucky. Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, was elected Speaker of the House. Both branches were organized for the administration, although the committee having to do with the Bank was favorable to that institution. The relative weight of the West was on the increase, for the census of 1830 took from the South and East and gave to the West in the matter of representation. By Act of May 22, 1832, the ratio of forty-seven thousand seven hundred inhabitants for each representative was settled.

The opposition centred on Clay. He was at once gracious and imperious. Clay was confident that Jackson was in a dilemma. A veto of the bill for recharter of the

Bank would alienate Pennsylvania from him. A refusal to veto would cost him the South and the West. So thought Clay and his friends, and they forced the fighting to make political capital out of the predicament in which the president seemed to have been caught.

The responsibility for making the Bank an issue of the campaign was not wholly Clay's. Nicholas Biddle shared whatever of honor or error lay in the move. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, and Daniel Webster joined him in urging aggressive action. Among the Democrats who favored immediate application for a charter was McDuffie. By January 6, 1832, it was resolved to delay no longer. A Pennsylvania Democrat, Senator George M. Dallas, was entrusted with the duty of presenting the memorial for recharter, and three days later both Houses received the resolution. The first move of Dallas was weak enough to disturb the more ardent backers of the memorial, for he said that the presentation of the memorial at this time was not in accord with his judgment. Senator Benton was ready, as he says, "to attack incessantly, assail at all points, display the evil of the institution, rouse the people, and prepare them to sustain the veto." Augustin S. Clayton, of Georgia, acting upon the prompting of Benton, demanded an immediate investigation of the affairs of the Bank. A committee was ordered, but not a single charge was sustained. A bill providing for recharter was introduced into the Senate on March 13, 1832. It was passed by a vote of twenty-eight to twenty, on June 7th. On the 3d of July the House passed the Senate bill by a vote of one hundred and seven to eighty-five. Six anxious days slipped by, and on the 10th came the veto, in which the president declared that he regarded the charges against the Bank as proved. In its economic reasoning the message was beneath notice. Livingston disavowed any share in it. Taney, however, had made contributions to it in the arraignment of the Bank as an undemocratic monopoly. The message was a compound of virile argument, bungling economics,

and dexterous appeals to the masses. In it the president put Americans against foreigners; the poor against the rich; the West against the East; and the people against privilege. In the main he drove straight to the centre of popular prejudice, and won.

The friends of the Bank were so blinded in their scorn of the arguments used that they distributed thirty thousand copies of the paper for use in the campaign. Biddle was "delighted" with the document. It would surely prove a boomerang. To Clay he wrote: "It has all the fury of a chained panther." But though he may have fittingly painted the wrath of Jackson, he undercolored his power with the common people. As for Jackson, he saw clearly enough that he was nearer his goal than his foes dreamed, and the result of the coming election justified him in his confidence.

After the adjournment of Congress the country at large became the arena for a most rancorous discussion of the issues of the campaign. This brought to the front candidates nominated for the first time by national conventions, all of which were held in Baltimore. Three parties were in the field; the Democrats, the National Republicans, and the anti-Masons. September 26, 1831, the anti-Masons, the first "one-idea" party, had held their convention and put in nomination for the offices of president and vice-president William Wirt and Amos Ellmaker. No platform was adopted. On December 12th, the National Republicans met, with one hundred and sixty-seven delegates from seventeen States. How the delegates were selected cannot be discovered. None came from South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, or Missouri. Henry Clay was unanimously nominated for president. For vice-president, John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, was named. No platform was adopted, but an address was prepared severely criticising the administration for its abuse of power, and its un-American partisanship. On the recommendation of this convention a national convention of young men met at Washington,

May 11, 1832, which approved the nominations just made and adopted the first platform ever issued by a national convention. It consisted of ten resolutions. They asserted the necessity devolving upon all true Americans of perpetuating the Republic; favored protection; a uniform system of internal improvements; recognized the Supreme Court as the only Constitutional tribunal to decide upon federal questions; upheld the dignity of the Senate; condemned the "present Executive;" pronounced against the "spoils system;" rebuked the president for accepting the advice of the King of Holland in the case of the northeastern boundary; complained that the arrangement with Great Britain touching colonial trade was unworthy of and injurious to the country; and affirmed it to be the duty of every man to vote for Clay and to oppose Jackson.

Jackson was nominated for a second term at Baltimore by the Democratic Convention on May 21, 1832. The nomination was a foregone conclusion. But the naming of Van Buren for vice-president was not to the liking of many Democrats. As has been stated he had been sent to London during the vacation of Congress, and when the Senate was asked to confirm the nomination he was rejected, Calhoun casting the deciding vote. Calhoun was mortal, and shared with his fellows more than one of the foibles which a genuine idol is supposed to lack. In Benton's hearing he boasted after casting the vote: "It will kill him, sir, kill him dead. He will never kick, sir, never kick." But the suave man from New York came home the stronger for the rejection, which no doubt contributed to his nomination for the vice-presidency. It was in nominating him that the Convention adopted the two-thirds rule which has ever since governed Democratic Conventions.

Jackson was stronger than his enemies knew. Not only was he supported by the people, but the politicians were loyal to him. Dallas, who had presented the bill for the renewal of the charter of the Bank, was within a month addressing a public meeting in Philadelphia and aiding in

passing resolutions of thanks for the fearless discharge of duty on the part of the president. The campaign filled the land with vituperation. The raging of cholera added to the general excitement. In the press, returns of elections and of the progress of the dread disease alternated during the summer and autumn of 1832. The total vote gave Jackson six hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and two, and Clay five hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and eighty-nine. The vote for Wirt was less than forty thousand, and only Vermont was carried by the anti-Masons. Save in Maryland, Kentucky, and South Carolina, Jackson swept the South and the West. South Carolina, stiffly isolated, cast eleven votes for John Floyd, of Virginia. In the electoral college Clay received forty-nine votes, and Jackson two hundred and nineteen.

The cholera, the campaign, and the fever of nullification made the season one long to be remembered. The breach between the president and the vice-president had made it more certain that Calhoun would lead the sentiment of his State, and crystallize its nebulous views touching resistance to federal laws. On July 30, 1832, writing from Fort Hill to a committee of his fellow citizens, he commends them for their loyalty to an idea which he says "in a few years will be the established political faith of our country." Whether his logic was more at fault than was his insight into the moving causes of progress is hard to determine. That he was sincere has been both affirmed and denied. That he was ambitious is undoubted. In this letter he declares "our danger is loss of liberty and not disunion, as is honestly supposed by many opposed to us." That he was a misreckoning prophet can now be granted. For he says that the time will come when "our doctrine . . . will be hailed as the great conservative principle of our government."

The State legislative election in South Carolina, in 1832, had for its issue the call of a convention to nullify the tariff. The efforts of the Union men were of slight avail

against the force of public sentiment. In the election for the legislature they had cast about seventeen thousand votes to twenty-three thousand of their opponents. In the election for the convention the Union men put forth no efforts, and the Nullifiers swept all before them. H. L. Pinckney, of the *Charleston Mercury*, expressed a popular feeling in writing: "The federal government (the creature of the States) must yield when opposed by a State in her sovereign capacity."

The convention met at Columbia, November 19, 1832, and sat for six days. An Ordinance of nullification was adopted by a vote of one hundred and thirty-six to twenty-six. It declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "to be null, void, and no law, not binding upon the State, its officers, or citizens." It enjoined upon all State officials to take the oath to support the Ordinance. The time for arresting the operation of the Acts of Congress was set for February 1, 1833. The last article of the Ordinance committed the State to resistance of the federal government, and even to the organization of a "separate government." The Ordinance was signed with due solemnity. The seven veteran Revolutionary soldiers present affixed their names first, and the other members in alphabetical order. On the adjournment of the convention, the legislature assembled November 27, 1832, to frame such measures as would execute the provisions of the Ordinance, now the fundamental law of the State. Governor Hamilton recommended preparation for conflict by a revision of the militia system,—trusting, however, that arbitration by a national convention might settle the points in dispute. On December 13th, R. Y. Hayne, the successor of Hamilton delivered his inaugural. In it he declared the sovereignty of his State to be paramount to all other authority. The legislature passed as its first measure a Replevin Act, to secure goods on which payment of duties was refused. Further provision was made for the recovery of any duties paid by any person. As to appeals, it was ordered that

clerks be forbidden to furnish courts with copies of record; and anyone obstructing the proceedings was to be heavily punished. Provision was made for military defence. Ten thousand stand of arms were to be purchased; and, finally, came the measure most obnoxious to Union men. A test oath Act required officers, and in especial judges, to take an oath prescribed in the Act. This oath exacted rigid obedience to the State laws even when they conflicted with Federal enactments. The Nullifiers had raged about the rights of the minority, and had fired the popular heart against the irresponsible majority, but now being in power they suppressed the minority with ruthless force. To such men as Hugh S. Legaré it appeared to be the height of "insolent tyranny" to prevent Union men from holding office by the test oath.

The South Carolina statesmen and lawyers now thought they had made it impossible for the Federal government to execute its own acts without violation of legal method, and this without any violation of law on their own part. It has been said that it is impossible to prove them insincere, yet it is evident that they were wrong. The spirit of secession was in the air. Hats, bonnets, and bosoms held blue cockades with a palmetto button in the centre. Soon, medals were struck bearing the inscription: "John C. Calhoun, First President of the Southern Confederacy."

President Jackson was not slow to oppose any attempt at insurrection. Even before the Ordinance of Nullification was passed he had caused the United States officers about Charleston to be warned, and Major Heileman, in command of the military forces in the harbor, was kept informed of events. The collector at Charleston was authorized to remove, if necessary, the custom house to Castle Pinckney. The old custom house, built in colonial days, fronts the harbor, at the very entrance of the city from the sea. It had been the scene of important events in the troublous days of the Revolution. In its damp vaults Isaac Hayne, the martyr, was kept until he was taken out to the gallows

by the British. Fifty years later it looked down upon the crowd that swarmed the streets to hear his gifted grand-nephew, Robert Young Hayne, proclaim the doctrine of nullification of Federal laws, and the passers-by repeat the statement of the *Telegraph* that Charleston would be "a *free port* in less than six months."

But President Jackson was determined that there should still be some use for the old structure. By the close of the year, two revenue cutters were ordered to Charleston, and General Scott was given chief command of the situation. Jackson's letters to Joel R. Poinsett, his confidential correspondent, indicate that he was in no mood to be trifled with. On the first overt act of treason he would crush the madness of the "Nullies" by arrest of their leaders. On December 10th, he gave to the country his Anti-Nullification Proclamation, a sane, impressive, appealing paper, of which it can truly be said that, whether it be his production or that of Livingston, no nobler paper of the kind has ever been issued from the White House. The iron in the proclamation is plainly from Jackson, the flowing style and tempered argument those of Livingston.

"I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it is founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed." In such fashion did the famous document summarize the argument. In discussing the claim of the State to secede, he joined issue with Calhoun, and appealed thus to the citizens of his native State: "They who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution [national laws], deceived you—they could not have been deceived themselves. . . . There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Rutledges, and of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your Revolutionary history, will not abandon that Union

to support which so many of them fought, bled, and died." The reference to Sumpter was happy. General Thomas Sumpter had passed away June 1, 1832, aged ninety-seven years. He had risked his life without reserve for his country. This appeal to the State was followed by one to the nation at large.

No State failed to condemn nullification. Georgia and Alabama joined with South Carolina in recommending a call for a convention to settle all existing questions of discontent. Virginia and Alabama asked South Carolina to suspend her Ordinance, and Congress to alter the tariff Act. Jackson's declaration that South Carolina was inviting civil war found concrete illustration in the act of the citizens of Greenville, who hoisted the Federal flag and nailed it to the mast. Virginia tried to "throw herself into the breach," and a vote was passed to send a commissioner to the sister State to effect some accommodation. This did not please Jackson. He wanted no legislature as mediator between the Union and a recalcitrant State.

When the proclamation was read in the South Carolina House of Representatives, most of it was heard with "exceedingly marked indignation," but at the passage in which the president called them "his children," and talked like a father, there was a general and sneering laugh. Isaac Holmes denounced Jackson as a "tyrant;" F. W. Pickens was ready for war at any cost. According to a Columbia letter the "nullifiers were in a perfect foam on the subject of the proclamation." War seemed imminent. Volunteers were enlisted to the number of twenty thousand. Arsenals and depots were established. But only a few collisions occurred during December and January. The war was mainly one of words. The "Union and State rights party" sent out a solemn remonstrance against the Ordinance on the 14th of December, 1832. A notable personal appeal was that of Thomas S. Grimké issued on the 1st of the same month, in which he said that the Ordinance of the convention was "the grave, not the bridal chamber of liberty."

On December 21st, Hayne issued a counter-proclamation in which he defied the president, denied his statements and announced his determination to resist Federal authority with arms.

Congress began its second session on the 3d of December, 1832. Events were moving rapidly. Calhoun not appearing, Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, was chosen president of the Senate, for the time being. Hayne had resigned his seat in the Senate, and Calhoun, on the 28th of December, resigned the vice-presidential office to take the vacant position. Amid profound silence he took the oath to support the Constitution. There had been expectations of some revisal of the tariff Act. The elections of 1832 had sent up a majority of men in favor of reform, and they were fortified in their purpose by the expressions of the fourth message of the president to attempt a modification of the Act. The public debt was about to expire, the 1st of January, 1833. On December 27th, Gulian C. Verplanck, of New York, reported a bill in the House in the direction of the principle for which South Carolina was contending. It proposed immediate reduction of duties, with a further reduction to follow in 1834. If it should pass, the Nullifiers could claim that their Ordinance had not been for naught. The bill became "unrecognizable" in the debate that ensued and was defeated. The arrogant tone of Governor Hayne stirred Jackson to send another message January 16, 1833, in which he denounced again the doctrine of nullification, and asked Congress for power to use the land and naval forces to execute the revenue laws. On February 12th, Clay introduced a compromise measure which was seconded by Calhoun, who was now advocating cooler counsels, and the compromise tariff became a law by which a gradual reduction was ordered until June 30, 1842, after which all duties were to be twenty per cent *ad valorem*. That this proposition was a stunning blow to the extreme protectionists is easily read in the story of the secret councils between Clay and Calhoun.

Webster was not in the full confidence of the leaders of the movement, and stood fast for exacting submission, then for granting expedient alterations. As Benton records the interview between Clay and Calhoun, out of which came the compromise, we discover Calhoun yielding to the pressure of a threat of Jackson to arrest the great Nullifier for treason, and Clay appearing to neglect the manufacturers that he might still the storm in the South.

On the 21st of January a bill was offered for the collection of the revenue. Authority was given to extend the power of the Federal Circuit Courts over all cases affected by the revenue laws; to secure Federal officers against the interruption of State officials; to alter or to abolish ports of entry; to use the land and naval forces for suppressing resistance to the execution of revenue laws if civil officials of the government were too weak. If it was stiff it was constitutional. It went to the heart of the method of resistance by South Carolina in its Replevin Act, and was at once nicknamed the Force Bill.

A large meeting of Nullifiers was held at the Circus in the city of Charleston, at which, while they reaffirmed the right of secession, they agreed to suspend the nullification ordinance, in order to avoid a conflict with federal authority during the passage of the Revenue bill through Congress. The act was a wise one even if a question might be raised as to the right of an informal gathering to annul an act of a sovereign convention. The States had not come to their support, and the president was too determined to be tampered with. They were quite sure to gain some easement of their burden even though there were no withdrawal of the principle of protection.

The protests of Calhoun were natural but unavailing. Nor did the request of McDuffie in the House that he might be allowed to write the epitaph of the Constitution, so soon to be buried, hinder the passage of the bill. On March 1, 1833, it passed both Houses and was signed the day after with the Tariff Bill, by the president.

The final action in this nullification movement was taken by South Carolina. On March 11, 1833, a convention was assembled, and Governor Hayne was elected as its president. Calhoun was present to urge the acceptance of the compromise measure of Congress. On March 15th, the famous Ordinance was rescinded by a vote of one hundred and fifty-three to four. On the 18th, a resolution directed against the "Force Bill" was passed and the convention adjourned.

In attempting to decide with which side lay the victory, it is worth remembering that the tariff Act of 1832 was not without fault and that it probably would have been altered in a short while even if South Carolina had not taken a stand against its provisions. Then it must be remembered that the nullification leaders were not, after all, concerned merely about a scale of duties. The principle of protection and the sovereignty of the State were the real issue. Looked at in this way nullification failed of its aim. It spent itself in words.

The positions of the great triumvirate in the winter of 1833 indicate quite truly their theories of State and nation. With Webster it was Union with or without tariff, even by force if necessary. Clay wanted Union, but by compromise; he questioned the strong ground taken by the president in his famous proclamation, and absented himself at the vote for the "Force Bill." Calhoun was for Union through nullification, and to establish this view he bent all the powers of his intellect. Like his State, he sat from this time on in isolation. He belonged to no party, but supplied his followers with every argument that rare ingenuity and a rare character could produce; the blameless puritanism of Calhoun gained for his arguments a hearing which a profligate in his shoes could not have secured. He became a fascinating leader of the young men who gathered around him. His fine sense of honor in financial affairs, his devotion to his family, his love of his State, his stern veracity, his dignified way of addressing his associates in the assembly

as "senators," his speeches unadorned with rhetoric, yet logical and forceful, his address of the utmost courtesy, revealed a man of extraordinary stamp. His ambition to be president was great, but how far his keen disappointment corroded his loyalty to the Union must be left to speculation. He lived to the end of his days in a sort of seclusion, free from public responsibility, free only to chastise faithless public officials and grovelling methods of serving the general public, and free to elaborate his theory of the reserved powers of States.

James all which by these presents that I do
hereby stand and consider of the said
said James certain money of the State of New York
in hand paid as and before the Envening
of these presents by James Morris the
I do acknowledge and myself to be therewith
satisfied contented and paid W. H. Seymour Esq.
sole released by these presents No further
and absolutely Grant bargain sell and
the said James Morris the Negro wench Jude
Borne in said City of New York and
the said Negro wench unto the said James Morris
Executor Administrator and Assign for Ever. And
I the said John Roosevelt for myself my heirs
and administrators No Government Grace and
above James Morris his Executor Admin-
istrator and Assigns W. H. Seymour and beyond the said
above James Morris against all persons whatsoever
in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand
and seal this 10th day of April 1796 signed sealed
delivered in the presence of
Witness
John Roosevelt

New York bill of sale, dated 1796, given by John Roosevelt to James Morris for a "Negro wench Named Jude." From the original in the collection of Wm. H. Seymour, Esq., New Orleans, Louisiana.

CHAPTER XIII

ABOLITIONISM

THE nation began with nebulous purposes but with very humane desires touching the abolition of slavery. There were very few apologists for the "institution." The humanitarianism of colonial days naturally budded out in the fever of independence times with hopes for all men, white and black. Men like Governor Keith, of Pennsylvania, Samuel Sewell, chief justice of Massachusetts, John Woolman, of New Jersey, Samuel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and Caspar Wistar, successor to Dr. Rush as president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and the legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts endeavored to restrict the slave trade, but their efforts were unavailing in the face of the declaration of its champion, Earl Sandwich, first lord of the Admiralty, and Lord North's supporter, which forbade any interference with "a traffic so beneficial to the nation." The hopes for a better day were not confined to the leaders in the North, for Southerners, like all the great Virginia presidents, and other guides of public opinion like Patrick Henry, Henry Laurens, and William J. Lowndes, deplored the manifest evils of the system and yearned for their removal from the future life of the nation. In 1787, backed by Thomas Jefferson, Rufus King, Nathan Dane, and R. H. Lee, Congress passed the immortal ordinance forbidding slavery in the Northwest Territory. Great

humanitarians of the prominence of John Jay and Patrick Henry were slaveowners, but of anti-slavery sentiments. Jay gave his servants their freedom, and Henry wrote: "I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil."

Anomalies of which the founders of the republic appeared to be unconscious frequently accompanied the progress of liberty. The very number of the *Boston Gazette* (July 22, 1776), which contained the Declaration of Independence also held the advertisement of a slave for sale. In fine contrast with this mixture of commercialism and patriotism was the virile consistency of Samuel Adams, who said, when a negro girl was offered as a present to his wife: "She must be free on crossing the threshold of my house." In 1777, Vermont, not yet a State, framed a constitution which excluded slavery from the commonwealth; Massachusetts adopted a constitution in 1780 which by construction achieved the same end, for in 1783 its Supreme Court decided that slavery was abolished forever by the declaration of the State constitution that "all men are born free and equal." In 1780, Pennsylvania, under the lead of George Bryan, passed "an Act of gradual abolition"; in 1784, New Hampshire became a free State by the judicial interpretation of its constitution. In 1778, Virginia, on the motion of Jefferson, prohibited the further introduction of slaves, and in 1782 it repealed the old colonial statute which prohibited the emancipation of slaves except for meritorious services. Maryland followed in the footsteps of Virginia, and for ten years, during the repeal, there were many manumissions. The gradual abolition Act of New York was passed in 1799, which ordered that all children born of slave parents after July 14th of that year should be free—females at twenty-five years of age and males at twenty-eight. The connection of Thomas Jefferson with the passage of the Northwest Ordinance is seen in his effort to check the growth of slavery, and to provide for its prohibition after 1800 in all

the western country above thirty-one degrees north latitude. By one vote the motion was lost. Jefferson said, years afterward: "The voice of a single individual would have prevented this abominable crime."

Yet the makers of the Constitution were pressed to recognize slavery as a political and economic factor of union. Lynch, of South Carolina, declared in minatory rhetoric: "Our slaves are our property; if that is debated, there is an end to confederation." The "irrepressible conflict" had its base in the corner stone of the national edifice. While the compromises of the Constitution recognized, and, in a measure, protected slavery, yet the economic and moral development of the nation was sure to beget a collision, for men could not content themselves with regarding the compromises as a final settlement of the question of slavery.

Naturally, the churches were the first to be heard from in protest. The Friends led in the opposition, and were quickly followed by the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and Baptist churches, all of which were outspoken against the evils of the slave system. This was true not only in the territory north of Ohio River, but in Kentucky and Tennessee, where the feelings of synod and conference took shape in resolutions and addresses. The synod of Kentucky in 1796, and as late as 1835, in repetition, affirmed its judgment in warm protest against holding men in bondage. In 1804, a number of Baptist ministers, styling themselves the "friends of humanity," issued an abolition address to the people at large. As far back as 1780 the Methodist conference had declared that slavery was contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society. This sentiment was repeated often in subsequent years. In 1821, the Associate Presbyterian synod at Pittsburgh forbade its communicants to own slaves. In 1790, some Quaker petitions for the abolition of the slave trade stirred up an earnest debate in Congress, and it was finally resolved that Congress had no power then to interfere with

the institution in any State. This was accepted as a just interpretation of the Constitution, and men looked forward to the time, 1808, when indubitable law would, with almost automatic action, abolish the evil.

The year 1793 is an era in the history of slavery in the United States, for not only did the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in that year render the slave a more valuable asset to his owner by making it possible to multiply his work many fold, but the bill for the rendition of fugitive slaves became a law, so that the master felt himself secure from loss of runaways. The Fugitive Slave Act of this year was passed in the House by a vote of forty-eight to seven, and in the Senate without a dissenting voice; it gave to the slave masters and their agents summary power to seize, hold, and return to slavery their fugitive bondmen. The workings of the Act in the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware occasioned much alarm among the free negroes, who were kidnapped and sold into slavery. Memorials came up to Congress asking for protection against this injustice; but there was little disposition to discuss the Act and almost none to take any action looking to its modification. When, in 1799, a petition was presented from colored men of Philadelphia praying for a revision of the Fugitive Slave Act, its reference to a special committee was vigorously opposed not only by Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina and Henry Lee, of Virginia, but also by H. G. Otis, of Boston, and John Brown, of Rhode Island, who said that he considered "slaves as much property as a farm or a ship." A significant foregleam of the days when the right of petition was denied to John Quincy Adams in the House of Representatives, was the desire expressed by John Randolph, who had just entered Congress, that the House should take action so as to deter persons from petitioning on that subject thereafter. The House decided by a vote of eighty-five to one, to discourage the petition.

The slow growth of anti-slavery sentiment can be the more easily understood as well as accepted, when it is

known that New England shipowners grew rich in the conscienceless business of importing negroes from Africa to the southern coasts of North America. The iniquity of the slave trade was not monopolized by the South. In 1800, Rhode Island, Boston, and Philadelphia were involved in it. John Brown, a representative of Rhode Island, spoke of the profitableness of the slave trade to the nation, and declared "we might as well, therefore, enjoy that trade as to leave it wholly to others," and continued, "it ought to be a matter of national policy, since it would bring in a good revenue to our treasury." Some of the Southern States wished a further importation of negro slaves. South Carolina repealed her prohibition of their importation, and Lowndes, a man of noble character, was compelled to excuse the act of his native State on the ground that the continued violation of the prohibition could not be suppressed, and declared that it was better to make legal what could not be prevented, while, too, the regard for law was suffering a sad decline. After the discussion of a proposition to impose a federal tax of ten dollars on every imported slave, it was finally voted that, rather than single out South Carolina from her fellows for general condemnation, she might have two years, a useless grant, before the House voted the tax. This vote was taken January 22, 1806. The next year, by a unanimous vote the importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress, the act to go into effect from January 1, 1808, as provided for by the Constitution. Congress thus used the first day allowed by the Constitution for suppressing the foreign traffic, and the meaning of the Constitution was thus published to the world with sufficient definiteness.

But the effect of the spread of the domestic slave trade upon the political life of the nation assumed grave proportions from the time of the Louisiana purchase. The westbound thousands did not leave behind them their old views, their property, their constitutional rights. It became a matter of doubt whether the anti-slavery article of the Ordinance

of 1787 would stand the pressure of events that tended to play into the hands of slave owners in the new territories. Free labor was in real peril. Efforts were made to introduce slavery into Indiana and Illinois, and ceased only when the upholders of free-state opinions obtained the upper hand in the territorial organizations. Further south the case was different. Mississippi had been organized as a slave Territory in 1798. When George Thatcher, of Massachusetts, and Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, championed the cause of freedom on this occasion, and claimed that Congress had power to abolish slavery in the Territories, no one raised his voice against this claim of right and power. Expediency and equity, not the Constitution, were urged against Thatcher's proposition and secured its defeat.

A noticeable lessening of the sentiment against slavery may be seen as the century begins to number its earliest years. Nor did the passage of the Act, according to the provisions of the Constitution, whereby the foreign slave trade was put under ban, tend to increase the popular dislike of the system. Rather it acted as an opiate for conscience and resolution, and men were content to wait for the future to develop its own opportunities for relief. The political "half loaf" was thrown to the restless multitude and satisfied a temporary hunger. The decline of interest in the cause of emancipation was marked at the meeting of the American convention of the abolition societies in 1804, and the passage of the Act of abolition of the slave trade quieted the zeal of the abolitionists yet more. It was noticed that public sentiment and numerous court decisions were less auspicious. The abolition societies which had had a fairly vigorous life now began to feel the narcotic influence of the Act, and the national gatherings ceased. Several State associations toiled on, and the Virginia society declared slavery "repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel." It was widely known that Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, Henry, and Mason, leaders in the State, had determined on emancipation, but that knowledge went for little in the

face of the growing belief in the wonderful profitableness of slavery. The fact that slave labor was failing of its old-time profit, as in some sections of northern Virginia where the soil was thin and negroes were expensive, did not lessen the force of the argument that in the lower and western South there was to be found a paying use for the toil of the slave. The slowly changing economic conditions led the Old Dominion to become a breeder of slaves for the better market toward the Gulf. Comparative failure in agriculture rather heightened the success of the inland traffic in slaves.

The distinction between the moral evil of the foreign slave trade and that of the domestic property right in the bodies and toil of the negroes was made by James Holland, of North Carolina, during the debate over the question of the abolition of the slave trade. He said: "Slavery is generally considered a political evil, and in that point of view, nearly all are disposed to stop the trade for the future . . . the people of the South do not generally consider slaveholding a moral offence." But to this there were noteworthy exceptions all through the South. Following the sweeping religious revivals of the first years of the century, of which statesmen seldom take account, but whose influence in modifying popular opinion is oftentimes without fellow, there arose a crusade in certain quarters against slaveholding. Many persons despairing of accomplishing the deliverance of the border States from slavery, joined the throng that set its face toward the new Territories that their children might emerge from the old unfavorable environment into one better calculated to promote a sense of justice and the preservation of human rights. These emigrants to the West were not all poor men or lacking in importance in the places from which they had removed. There were many of the status of Edward Coles, a Virginian, heir to several hundred slaves, a man of cultivation, for six years Madison's private secretary, who removed with all his slaves to Illinois, then emancipated them, and watched faithfully over all their

interests. His deed of July 19, 1819, contains the following: "And whereas, I do not believe that man can have a right of property in his fellow man . . . I do therefore restore to the said . . . that inalienable liberty of which they have been deprived."

The decade in which Coles deeded liberty to his slaves was one of inevitable widening of the gap between the North and the South. In 1810, there were four States devoted to freedom: Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Ohio. From others in the North and in the Middle States slavery had nearly vanished or was greatly diminished. Virginia had the greatest number of slaves, North Carolina's ratio of slaves had lessened, and in South Carolina and Georgia the whites and blacks were nearly equal. After the invention of Whitney's gin every additional slave meant additional power to his owner, and as new lands were opened up for the cultivation of cotton the slave became a measure of value with which to stamp the increasing importance of the "institution" in the South. At the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, the total population of the nation was nine million six hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-one, an increase in ten years of nearly two and a half million. Of this number one and a half million were slaves, and nearly a quarter million were free blacks. Not more than twenty thousand slaves lived out of the Southern States, while only half the free negroes lived therein. The War of 1812, just closed, had nearly suspended emigration, but immediately upon its ending the rush set toward the West. The census of 1820 tells the tale of the growing preponderance of the newly settled sections of the Union. The Atlantic States had a decennial increase by 1820 of slightly over twenty per cent. The Western States exhibited an increase of one hundred and eight per cent. There were slightly over two million persons engaged in agriculture, three hundred and forty-nine thousand in manufactures, and seventy-two thousand in commerce. The South had more than half the

agriculture of the nation, New England and the Middle States more than two-thirds of all the commerce, and New England alone had one-fourth of all the manufactures, while nine-tenths of all the seamen belonged to Massachusetts and Maine. If those who asserted then, and those who so affirm now, that the South could not have been exploited unaided by slave labor be right in their contention or in error, it matters little in our interpretation of the effect such great facts as the spread of population and the opening up of new fields to the growth of products having vast value in the markets of the world had upon the determination of men not to yield their grip upon the foundation of their future wealth.

While it is true that the South came out of the War of 1812 with marked devotion to the principle of nationality, yet events over which she had no conscious control were about to try the temper of her loyalty. The unparalleled expansion of the last half of the second decade had for its result the excitements of the Missouri Compromise. Neither North nor South could tell her bearings, nor was the inevitableness of the coming strife at all patent at that time. The confusion was too broadcast, and the sentiments of men had not crystallized into declarations, nor expressed themselves in acts which could be said to put in peril the national edifice.

There was enough abolition sentiment in the South in the first quarter of the century for the establishment of four abolition papers, the *Emancipator* in Tennessee, the *Abolition Intelligencer* in Kentucky, the *Liberator* in Louisiana, and most noted, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Maryland. These papers were not edited by men of commanding ability, nor was their circulation of moment. But they represented, unmolested, a not uncommon feeling of distrust, if not of hate, of the system. In 1816, John Randolph demanded the appointment of a committee to make inquiry touching the "inhuman and illegal traffic in slaves" carried on in the District of Columbia. An extract

from the *Richmond Enquirer* in 1821 is a faithful mirror, at least for Virginia, of a feeling which would not be silenced: "It is a fact which cannot be denied or controverted, that there is something in the policy of Virginia decidedly unfavorable to her speedy advancement. . . . Slavery is one great cause of all our misfortunes."

Indeed, the first movement which had anything like nationality in its alleged resistance to the spread of slavery had its largest support from southern men. In 1816, the American Colonization Society was cradled in the active brain of Dr. Robert Finley, of Princeton, New Jersey. At a meeting held in Washington, December 21st, Henry Clay was the presiding officer. On the 28th, another meeting was held, and final organization was effected on January 1, 1817. Out of the seventeen vice-presidents chosen, twelve were from the South. Nearly all the managers, twelve in number, were from the same section. The second article of the constitution indicated the purpose of the organization, which stated that its intention was "to be exclusively directed" to colonizing free negroes. Before the close of the year the Virginia legislature commended the plan to the consideration of Congress. The first president was Bushrod Washington, a member of the Supreme Court, and a nephew of the first president of the nation. The society was welcomed by thousands of people. For fourteen years it had the support of philanthropists like Dr. Channing and Bishop Hopkins, and also of politicians like Henry Clay and James Madison. In January, 1817, John Randolph presented a petition of the society to the House asking for its plan of sending free negroes to Africa such aid as the Federal authority could give. Congress gave the matter some attention, but reached no definite conclusion. Later on, by Act of March 3, 1819, the president was authorized to order the transportation back to Africa of negroes illegally imported to the United States.

The purpose of the society was not to labor for the abolition of slavery. Evidence is not lacking to show that

the South jumped at the proposition of the society as affording some release from the presence of the free negro, so long a thorn in the side of the labor system of the South. If the Colonization Society were not a scheme to get rid of an objectionable element of the population, the free blacks, why should so humane a statesman as Clay say as he did in 1817: "Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored;" and in the same breath, "every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion and free institutions"? Had logic and sincerity parted company? To the same intent is a memorial of the Kentucky Colonization Society; "they are a mildew on our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain on our escutcheon." In an address to the public the parent society defined its attitude thus: "The moral, intellectual, and political improvement of free people of color within the United States are objects foreign to the society." John Randolph, at the inception of the movement, said that it "must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States in his slaves."

That the free colored people did not approve the scheme is plain from their own statement at a meeting held in Richmond early in 1817, when they denounced as "cruel any measure or system of measures having a tendency to banish them." Consequently the success of the American Colonization Society was not great. After thirteen years had lapsed, its reports showed that it had transported to Liberia but thirteen hundred emigrants. In the same time the domestic slave population had increased half a million. It could not deport free negroes as fast as slave babes were born in the South. The plans of the society were at first welcomed by the emancipationists of England, but after the visit of William Lloyd Garrison to that country a change came over their view, and he received on his departure to America a protest against the society and its plans. This was signed by Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, O'Connell, and kindred spirits.

As if to accentuate the inefficiency of human compassion when baffled by stiffening restrictions of law, the prejudices of caste and the profits of slave labor, to justify which arguments now began to be drawn from the Bible, the first president of the society, Justice Bushrod Washington, sold some of his slaves to buyers from Louisiana, and when criticised for the act asserted the right of every slaveholder to sell his own property. Yet it will not do to deny the pulse-beat of humanity in the plan of the society. Liberia became the hope of a band of men who imagined that the plan of the society would achieve the desired end. As an expression of a humane desire to check the evils of the slave system the Republic of Liberia was a noteworthy experiment. As a practical solution of the intricate problem, though for thirty years the African colony had a degree of prosperity, the plan was a failure. The odds were too great. Cupidity was too strong for humanity. The great author of the Declaration died deploring the continued existence of slavery. He did not pin his faith to the scheme of the new society. He conceived a plan for emancipating black children at birth, and as soon as possible deporting them, leaving the old stock to die out. There would be no market value upon a free negro babe. He urged haste. On the 4th of February, 1824, two years before his death, he wrote to Jared Sparks: "Who could estimate its blessed effects? I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. But I leave it with this admonition, to rise and be doing."

Emancipation, despite the improbability of its achievement in the South, was, by the close of the second decade, an accomplished fact in the North. By the time that New York, the last to take action in the North, had, in 1817, declared that in ten years there should be no slave within its borders, the line may be said to have been strictly drawn between the anti-slavery and the pro-slavery States. As the legislatures in the former expressed the disposition of the

one side, so the legislatures in the latter showed a growing indifference to emancipation, and a desire, if not a determination, to remove free negroes from Southern territory. In 1819, Virginia passed a law threatening a forfeit of his freedom to any freedman whose residence in the State exceeded a year. Georgia taxed the free negro twenty dollars a year. The constitutions of Mississippi and Alabama, unhindered by Congress, forbade the legislative emancipation of a slave without the owner's consent.

That the foreign slave trade was not estopped in 1808 by the Act of Congress, the history of secret landings of black cargoes on the Gulf coast for the next fifty years is true witness. When Great Britain had abolished slavery and tried to join hands by treaty with the United States to abolish the ocean traffic in slaves, the Spanish and Portuguese flags floated over ships engaged in the inhuman but lucrative trade. The horrors of the "middle passage" were certainly not alleviated by the fact that the nation to whose shores these traders were bound was sure to treat them as pirates, as it proposed to do by Act of 1820. The demand for slave labor was on the increase. And to meet the call the slavers ran every conceivable risk, packing the miserable Africans in spaces so low and so narrow that incredible numbers were carried on each slaver. When in imminent danger of capture by government cruisers the slavers would cast overboard the living evidences of their violation of law. So large was the profit in the slave traffic that even though the vessels engaged in the business reached the West Indies or the coasts of the Carolinas or the shores of the Gulf with only half a load, the venture was very profitable. Thus the law operated to make the sufferings of the wretched people more pitiable than before.

The efforts of the Federal warships were unavailing to shut out the slavers. The *Louisiana Advertiser* of September 11, 1821, said: "Along the frontier of the State of Louisiana there is at this moment almost every species of smuggling carried on. Slaves are brought in by dozens."

Nor did the introduction of African slaves cease till the beginning of the Civil War. The *New York Sun* noted that in the eighteen months before 1860 eighty-five vessels were fitted out from New York for the infamous traffic.

Little did Patrick Henry dream of the difficulty of accomplishing the deep desire of his life. Instead, his own proud State, the cradle of a line of great presidents, became involved with its neighbors in the business of sending slaves to the markets of the lower South and the Southwest. As the soil became impoverished because of the lack of recuperative measures, the State drifted into the business of raising and selling negroes. The careful chronicler Niles, writing in 1817, grows indignant over the "present infamous traffic that is carried on in several of the Middle States, and especially in Maryland, in negroes for the Georgia and the Louisiana markets." In the Virginia Convention of 1829, Charles Fenton Mercer estimated the value of slaves annually exported at one and a half million dollars. The large demand in the lower South for slaves arose from the great mortality of negroes in the cotton, rice, and sugar producing sections. In 1831, the secretary of the treasury reported that the number of deaths on the sugar plantations in Louisiana exceeded the births by two and a half per cent.

That men's consciences stung them goes without saying. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, grandson of Jefferson, declared in the Virginia legislature of 1832 that the "State was one grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market like oxen for the shambles." But, in truth, the prospect of an ending of slavery was becoming less and less hopeful. The South was slowly but surely becoming convinced that her commercial prosperity depended upon the continuation of slavery, and that those States supplying slaves to their fellows were in a business as necessary as it was profitable. This idea was fully expressed by Professor Thomas R. Dew, of William and Mary College, who, in reviewing the great debate of 1831-1832 in Virginia, concluded that the domestic traffic was an advantage to the State, as "it furnishes

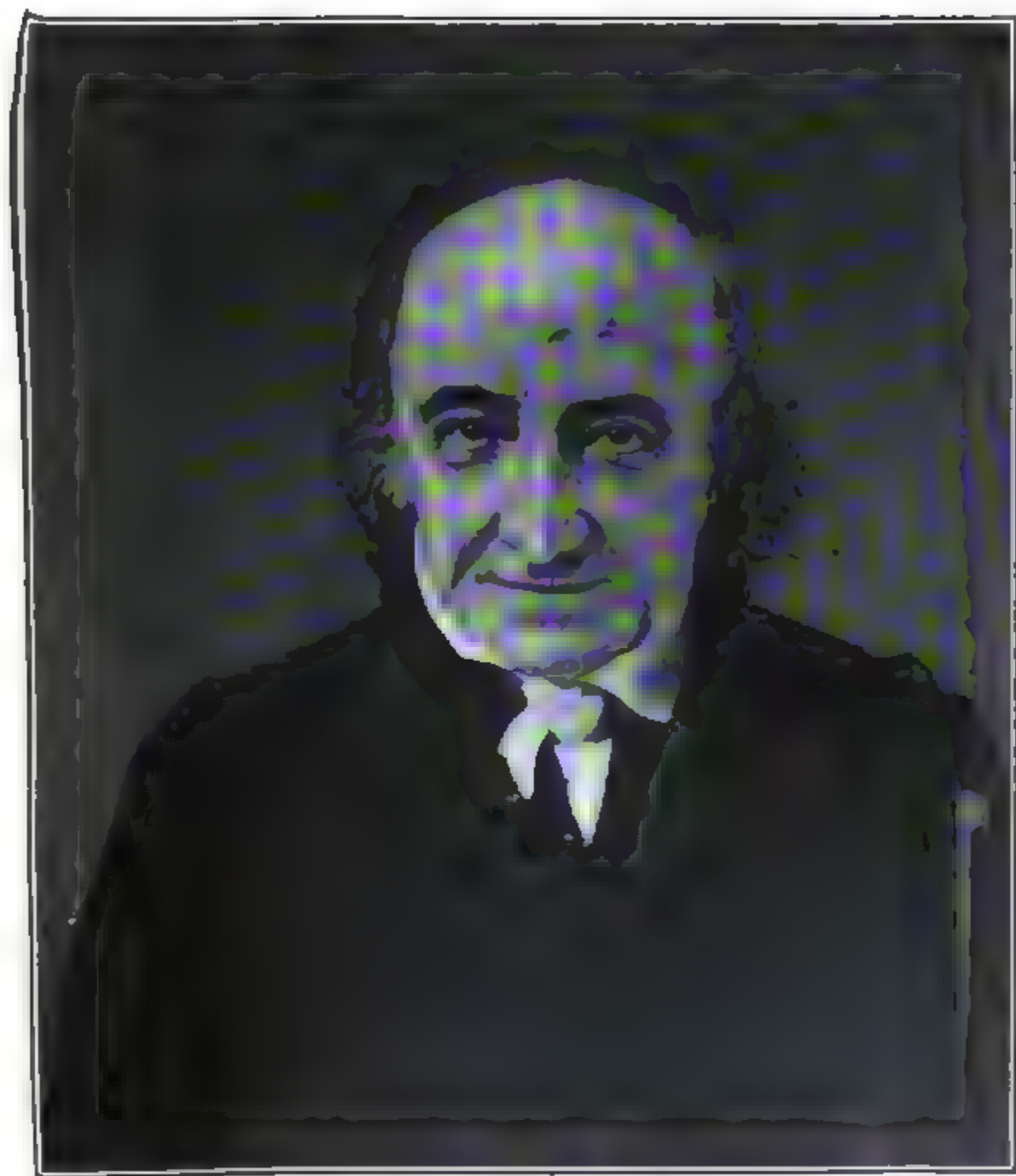
every inducement to the master to attend to the negroes, to encourage their breeding, and to cause the greatest number possible to be raised. . . . Virginia is, in fact, a negro-raising State for other States." The fact is that the South was arguing for her life, as she thought, while the North was speaking from sentiment. As the second quarter of the century opened, the disparity between the two sections began to show more clearly. The North was growing apace, and could thrive even though slavery should be allowed a long lease of life. The South was falling to the rear in the race for industrial supremacy, and she held to slavery as the only means whereby she might regain prosperity.

The South passed through several stages of changing view upon the slavery question. She had first acknowledged it to be an evil, and the greatest Southerners wished it gone. The next stage was reached when it was declared a necessary evil, which it would ruin the country to abolish, at least for the present. It was too serious a matter to attack immediately, said the editor of Niles's *Register* in January, 1830; "It must be met sometime, though probably not in our day." Then it was declared to be a good thing for the negro and a good thing for the whites. One more step remained to be taken, and it came when it was urged that domestic slavery, so benign and so necessary, must be saved at all hazards. Before the close of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, John C. Calhoun affirmed that though many in the South had once believed that slavery was a moral and political evil, "that folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world." This was but meeting the attack of the abolitionists on their own ground. What they declared to be an ill must now be affirmed a good. This was the logical issue of the war of words; and if the South was to hold her own in the debate, slavery must be proved a blessing and not a curse. The *True American*, of New Orleans, summed it up with sufficient clearness when it said: "If the principle be acknowledged

that slavery is an evil, the success of the fanatics is assured." That the last half of the Jackson period marks the turn of the tide from a nervous uncertainty as to the moral quality of slaveholding to a more pronounced tone of affirmation of its moral as well as economical benefit is plain from the words of W. G. Simms, the eminent author of *South Carolina*. Speaking in 1853 of the criticisms of the English traveller, Miss Martineau, he says: "Twenty years ago, few persons in the South undertook to justify negro slavery, except on the score of necessity. Now, very few persons in the same region question their perfect right to the labor of their slaves."

Governor McDuffie, in his message of 1834 to the South Carolina legislature, called slavery "the corner-stone of our republican edifice." This statement was in contrast to the words of Madison in 1787: "Where slavery exists, the republican theory becomes still more fallacious." Logic was now defending what economics had made profitable.

It is difficult to disentangle the mixed and knotted motives by which men justify their courses. Other reasons besides those of the sort we have named must have operated to arouse the South to a vigorous defence of the system of human slavery. When it was known to be the foundation of the supremacy in politics of every slaveowner, a potent reason for its retention ran all the way from the most distant plantation of Louisiana to the Capitol at Washington. The three-fifths rule for estimating the number of the representatives in Congress put power in the hands of the whites in the South. Each successive decade saw this power slipping to the free States. The census of 1790 gave the free States thirty-five and the slave States thirty members. In 1800, the former had fifty-seven, the latter forty-nine representatives. The disproportion was increasingly marked in 1816; and by 1824 the free States had one hundred and twenty-three, while the slave States stood at ninety. A slight unevenness in sectional representation was of little moment, so long as no cause for disaffection existed between the two sections; but as soon as the South made out of the spread of free



Albert Gallatin, *From a very early photograph.*

labor a matter of argument, the situation became one of conflict.

As the North, through its increasing population, gained control of the House of Representatives, the South bent its energies to preserve the "equilibrium" in the Senate by the entrance of new slave States. In 1800, the two sections were evenly divided, each with eighteen Senators. The balance appeared to suffer in 1816, but it was righted in 1820, and remained in even scale for the next twenty-eight years. In their great debate Webster and Hayne spoke for twelve States each. Below the calm surface of such a matter-of-fact recital there needs to be read the story of a constant tumult, the result of a jealous safeguarding of sectional political influence. Jackson's first administration marks the time when all the materials for a conflagration were in peculiar readiness for the torch.

The Abolitionist movement proper may be said to have originated in the labors of John Woolman, a Quaker from New Jersey, who, beginning in 1746, made long pilgrimages, wrote, counselled, and ceaselessly pleaded for the rights of men. Following him, another propagandist, Charles Osborn, founded the "Tennessee Manumission Society." In 1814, he removed to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and there issued the first number of the *Philanthropist*, September 12, 1817. After him walked, literally, Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker from New Jersey, who dedicated his whole life to the cause of emancipation. In 1815, he organized the "Union Humane Society," at St. Clairsville, and at Mount Pleasant printed the first number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, July 4, 1821. In eastern Tennessee from 1800 to 1830, a leading Presbyterian abolitionist was the Rev. Samuel Doak. He emancipated his slaves about 1818. He had for his pupil the noted Sam Houston, and it was probably Doak's influence that caused Houston, a generation later, to vote against the Kansas-Nebraska bill and veto the Texas ordinance of secession. But such influences were not at once far-reaching or

powerful. Ohio, a cradle of these early movements, enacted harsh "black laws" in 1804 and 1807. The feeling which was crystallized in these statutes leaped forth in cruel rage in 1829, when efforts were made to secure the removal of free people of color from the State. Three days of assault and pillage on the part of the lower class of whites left a memory of shame for years for Cincinnati. In consequence of these riots over one thousand blacks took up their residence in Canada. Even in the free States, as a free man, the negro was less welcome than as a slave. The influence of this sentiment was felt for many years. In making their constitutions, Ohio, Indiana, and other new western states excluded the free negro from the ballot box. After the Missouri Compromise the hostility against free blacks was on the increase. Had Missouri asked for admission to the Union twenty years later than it did, it is not at all likely that any effort then made to exclude freedmen from the State would have raised an objection to its admission. Nor is this statement weakened by the fact that in 1821 the State of New York admitted free men of color to the suffrage. In the new States of the Northwest, where it was thought that slavery could not get a foothold, because barred out by the Northwest Ordinance, it was only after a long and uncertain struggle that freedom won.

The Ordinance of 1787, while declaring "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said [Northwest] territory," yet provided that the property rights of the French and Canadians, which had been affected by the laws of Virginia in making land cessions to the Federal government, should be respected. The Ordinance did not free the slaves held at that time. Yet it was held by several decisions that children of slave parents born after the date of the Ordinance were not to be included as slaves. Prior to 1830, freedom was given the benefit of all doubts in cases of dispute, and it was reserved for the Dred Scott decision to declare that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from any of the Territories. Fortunately for the

cause of abolition in the new Territories the decision did not come till the whole of the territory of the Northwest had accumulated a reserve of sentiment, or else Illinois, certainly, and Indiana, probably, would have become slave States. While Indiana was part of the Northwest Territory, three attempts were made to modify the clause of the Ordinance by which slaveholding was to be prohibited: in 1796, by petition to Congress dated from Kaskaskia; in 1799, by a like request from the officers of the late Virginia Line; and in 1802, when an organized convention asked in a memorial for the perpetuation of slavery. Governor W. H. Harrison wrote an official letter urging the grant of the latter request, but it was refused by the body to which it was addressed.

In 1805, in the Territorial Legislature of Illinois, a provision was introduced for securing by indenture a service akin to slavery. A majority favored the motion, but a brisk minority opposed it. However, the Act was passed, and slaves were held under this statute long after Illinois became a State. It was not till 1848 that this clause was no longer in force. The indenture of Indiana was repealed in 1810, and by act of convention, held in 1816, Indiana came in as a free State.

If it required nearly half a century from the founding of the nation to preserve territory free which had been set apart from the beginning for freedom by solemn compact, as was the case with several States formed out of the Northwest Territory, it is easy to believe that any effort to rid the whole land of slavery by violent denunciation and by spurning the Constitution would not only move the South to profound wrath, but would also arouse in the North a strong indignation against anyone who should denounce the Constitution "as a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." It is none the less evident that whenever the demands on the part of slaveowners for the immediate suppression of fanatic agitators reached a point when free speech, a dear possession to Americans, should be menaced, and when, too, mob violence in the North herself should

begin to make martyrs of the abolitionists, that then there would come a reaction in favor of the extremists which would guarantee them not so much a larger following, but protection from persecution. Both results came to pass: first, the shock of the assault upon vested rights and the Constitution; second, the protection of the right of free speech and of petition that followed in the wake of persecution. The era of Andrew Jackson furnishes illustrations of the effort to abolish slavery without appeal to constitutional provisions, and the effort to prevent free discussion of the ills of domestic slavery. It was soon discovered that both were protected by the Constitution.

In 1826, through the influence of Lundy, the anti-slavery convention met in Baltimore. The South sent delegates from one hundred and six societies out of a total number in the nation of one hundred and forty. At this time Lundy evidently did not fully measure the strength of the opposition to his abolition views, and his calculation of an easy victory was misplaced. He, however, soon felt the need of help, and turned to Arthur Tappan, of New York, and William Goodell, of Providence. As yet he found no abolitionists in Boston. He met William Lloyd Garrison, a congenial soul, but found him interested mainly in the cause of temperance, which he was advocating in *The National Philanthropist*. Garrison was not in full accord with the extreme views of Lundy. However, he became engaged with Lundy in the summer of 1829 in Baltimore as his assistant in editing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The publication was changed from a monthly to a weekly, and was conducted in behalf of temperance, emancipation, and peace. Because of its extreme views upon abolition, Lundy was driven from Baltimore to Washington, and there failed for lack of patronage. The paper was, however, revived by Lundy in 1836 under the title of the *National Inquirer*, and published in Philadelphia. In 1838 he retired, and was succeeded by John G. Whittier, who changed the name to *The Pennsylvania Freeman*. Lundy's last efforts, through his unsparing

judgments and bitter pen, were a series of failures, and he died in the West in 1839, aged fifty-one years. He was a large-hearted, unselfish, and industrious man.

Garrison was a reformer of a different type, an aggressive man of abler parts. He was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, December 10, 1804. In boyhood he was thrown upon himself for support. His mother was a woman of force and conscientiousness, and when the cruel blow of her husband's desertion fell upon her, she bravely gathered her children together. But a difficult task was theirs. Self-support was the order of the day for all. Garrison became a printer, then an editor. He had inherited his mother's disposition to regard all questions from the standpoint of their moral issue. He added to this a quick understanding and remarkable boldness of expression, at times rising to the level of bitterest sarcasm and eloquent denunciation. Nor did he lack zeal with which to heighten the vigor of his phrases. He was not disposed to consider expediency, and grew less so as the years wore on. He soon outran Lundy's moderation, and becoming convinced that the leading spirits of the colonization society were seeking to induce the northern philanthropists to drop vigorous measures against slavery, he was not long in obtaining an opportunity to attest both the rankness of his views and the hate of his enemies. The captain of a vessel owned by Francis Todd, of his own native town of Newburyport, took on board, at Baltimore, with the owner's consent, a cargo of slaves intended for the New Orleans market. This was Garrison's opportunity, and he severely denounced the shipmaster for his action. Nor did he confine himself to his attack upon the sea captain, but directed a bitter assault upon the system of slaveholding, and this greatly exasperated the slave owners of Baltimore and subjected Garrison to a civil and a criminal suit. He was convicted and sentenced to both imprisonment and fine. Lundy brought the case to the notice of Arthur Tappan, of New York, who paid the fine, fifty dollars and costs.

After lying in jail seven weeks Garrison was set free, but not without giving expression to the feeling which from this time fully mastered him; from the Baltimore jail he arraigned the law and the arbitrary conduct of the court. "Is it supposed by Judge Brice that his frowns can intimidate me or his sentence stifle my voice on the subject of oppression? He does not know me. So long as a good Providence gives me strength and intellect I will not cease to declare that the existence of slavery in this country is a foul reproach to the American name; nor will I hesitate to proclaim the guilt of kidnappers, slavery abettors, or slave owners, wherever they may reside, or however high they may be exalted. I am only in the *alphabet* of my task; time shall perfect a useful work."

Garrison left for the North more violent than ever. He established the *Liberator* in Boston, in January, 1831. In his salutatory address occurred the far-famed statement: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. . . . I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch. *And I will be heard.*"

That his extreme views did not generally commend themselves, goes without saying. In the same editorial of his first issue he says of New England: "I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slave owners themselves." He was his own publisher, printer, even typesetter and carrier. His only assistant was a negro. He was the chief, unsilenced, implacable assailant of the slave system, fiercely pledged to attempt its destruction. His success at first was small. H. G. Otis, the mayor of Boston, did not know of the *Liberator* till September, nor did he then find any subscribers. But meagre fare, and hard toil, indifference changing to opposition and contempt to hate did not chill the purpose of the dauntless Garrison. He was defiantly impartial. His countrymen north as well as south were handled with bitterest phrase.

The South was stung. Before the close of the first year the Vigilance Committee of Columbia, South Carolina, offered a reward of fifteen hundred dollars for the apprehension and conviction of any white person caught distributing the *Liberator*. The legislature of Georgia placed a price of five thousand dollars on the head of the editor and publisher of the obnoxious sheet. Garrison expressed a willingness to die, but not to be silent. He even advanced to the declaration of his doctrine of "immediate emancipation," a view which he had not advocated in 1829.

The times were ripe for an emotional upheaval. The land was in an unquiet state. The Protestant churches were stirred by a revival at the end of the first quarter of the century. Temperance societies, peace conferences, public interest in reform, dreams of the "dawn of the millennium," the founding of religious papers and of denominational colleges marked the period as one for use in all causes which appealed to sentiment, to the hopes, the fears, and the consciences of the people. One year from the founding of the *Liberator*, Garrison organized in Boston the "New England Anti-Slavery Society." The movement spread, and in 1833 a national convention was held in Philadelphia, followed by the organization of the "American Anti-Slavery Society." In its declaration of principles it stood for unconditional and immediate emancipation of the slave. Impossible schemes were proposed and exasperating pressure of epithet and condemnation were brought to bear upon the slaveholder in the South and his defender in the North.

The year that gave birth to the abolitionism of Garrison also witnessed an uprising of slaves in Southampton County, Virginia. The leader was one Nat Turner, a fanatically religious negro slave. The testimony given at his trial offered no proof that there was any connection between his atrocity and the stirrings of abolitionism in the North. Turner was a prophet among his fellows. In August, 1831, he organized his fellow slaves into a band, never more than

seventy in number, who went from house to house killing all the whites they met. Sixty-one white persons were massacred, and in the suppression of the murderous outburst about one hundred negroes were put to death. But the number of the maddened band is not a fair measure of the terror aroused all over the South at the reception of the dreadful news. Intense excitement ran through Virginia. The *Richmond Whig* affirmed that another such insurrection would wipe out all the blacks of the South. Cries for protection filled the ears of the governor from all quarters of the State. In his message, Governor Floyd advocated the silencing of all negro preachers, as being filled with the "spirit of revolt." Maryland forbade both free and slave negroes from taking part in a meeting not led by white men. Governor Hayne of South Carolina asserted that slavery demanded an armed security.

A political struggle between the eastern and the western counties of Virginia received from the negro uprising an accidental but none the less tremendous emphasis. In the year 1829-1830 the State held a convention for the purpose of effecting needed changes in the constitution. The more democratic sections were striving against the aristocratic section of the State to secure a more equitable apportionment of the rights of representation. The eastern counties had fewer whites and more negroes than the western portion of the State. The westerners were hopeful but were defeated by the older families, who were too strong for the radicals. Dissatisfaction was about all that each side bore away from the contest in the convention. The insurrection of Turner gave the defeated democrats their opening, and in the legislative session of 1831-1832 the fight was resumed with all possible vigor. The debate over the question of the expediency of enactments for the abolition of slavery was one of the most able and brilliant oratorical conflicts which any State has had to its credit. Thomas J. Randolph, the grandson of Thomas Jefferson, spoke of the dark and dubious future if the State held to slavery, and

proposed a moderate plan of emancipation. William C. Rives opposed any plan of emancipation, because its agitation at that time would be "injudicious, if not perilous." Charles J. Faulkner pleaded for release from the "curse of slavery, that bitterest drop from the chalice of the destroying angel." James McDowell, afterward governor of the State, portrayed in masterful style the demoralization of the system of slavery. The abolitionists in the North did not surpass the eloquent Virginian in this regard. But it was in vain. The tide was setting too strongly against emancipation in the South, and from this time forward to the Civil War the note of criticism of its great institution is heard in lessening whispers from Ohio River to the Gulf. The South reached the period of Jackson divided upon the question of slavery, but so did the North.

During Jackson's terms of office the times were ripe for radical views and riotous interference with free speech. The presence of newcomers from Europe, not yet able to distinguish between freedom that works by law and intolerance that blindly smites without law; the settling of local disputes by the will of the stronger; murders, lynchings, race riots, and mobs marked the period of Jackson's administration, especially so in the year 1835. Disorders in Boston, pillage in Baltimore, strikes in the valleys of the Schuylkill, tumults in the "Five Points" of New York, bespoke the leaping of the hot blood of the new generation. The common people had been told they were not the subjects of European methods of enforcing law. An uneasy spirit was rife among the people. The abolitionists shouted their faith, and increased the social fever which had fastened upon the body politic.

In 1833, the British statute which unfettered eight hundred thousand slaves in the British West Indies created a tremendous impression throughout America. The South exhibited symptoms of the utmost anxiety; in the North there was division. The followers of Garrison used the act of Great Britain to draw most invidious and unpatriotic

comparisons, and pushed the parallel between the act of the older country and the doctrine of abolitionism for the new nation to an unjustifiable extreme. There could be little similarity between the methods of Great Britain in emancipating slaves in distant islands by a slow process and through fair recompense of owners and the unconditional and immediate liberation of slaves living among their owners advocated by Garrison. He exasperated a condition which was bad enough. Incendiary pamphlets were scattered broadcast over the land. George Thompson, an able but imprudent British speaker, was brought over by the abolitionists to arouse the North to action. Garrison charged Boston with being the refuge of slavery; Thompson intemperately declared that slaves had a right to cut the throats of their masters. For answer they had hot words, rotten eggs, and brickbats. Amid buffetings and abuse, the eloquent Briton lectured in New England and as far west as Ohio for over a year. He was mobbed in Massachusetts, and shortly after left the shores of America for his home. Just before his departure, it was announced that he would address a public meeting held by the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society at their hall on Washington Street in October, 1835. Threats and handbills were flying around the city, and the women appealed to the authorities for protection. One hundred dollars were offered to the man who would lay hands upon Thompson "so that he could be brought to the tar-kettle." About thirty members of the society gathered in the hall. The mob was howling while the mayor entered the room and requested the ladies to dissolve their meeting. The meeting adjourned. Thompson was not present, but Garrison was, and the rage of the crowd was turned upon the editor of the *Liberator*. While Garrison was attempting to retire by the rear door, he was caught by the mob and a rope was cast about his neck; and with his clothing torn he was dragged into State Street, where the mayor and a body of reputable citizens managed to save him from the infuriated mob. He was taken to the mayor's office, and then

to the jail for safe keeping. After his discharge he left the city.

Such violence naturally overreached itself; for though the fanatic energy of the abolitionists and their impracticable plans brought no relief whatever to the poor slave, and merely hardened the slave owner in his pride and defiance of interference, the lawless intolerance of mobs awoke the sympathy of men in the North for those who were persecuted for holding to a moral principle with heroic firmness. Garrison was not molested after this in his home. He scolded and scourged his opponents to his heart's content.

Among his supporters he numbered such leaders of thought and philanthropy as Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel E. Sewell, Rev. S. J. May, Oliver Johnson, Edwards Pierrepont, Dr. William Ellery Channing, and John G. Whittier. Among these was also the name of the brilliant young advocate, Wendell Phillips, who came to Garrison's aid when he beheld the maltreatment of the agitator by a mob in Boston in 1835, and who lifted himself up among the nation's orators in 1837 in defence of the cause for which Lovejoy died. Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was a native of Maine who went West to engage in teaching. He became an editor of a political journal in St. Louis, and then a minister of the Presbyterian church. He started a religious journal, the *Observer*, in which he severely castigated the system of slavery, though not advocating immediate emancipation. Refusing to surrender the right of free speech, he resigned his editorship and removed to Alton, a town on the Illinois side of the river. The paper coming again into his hands, he aroused so much opposition that twice was his press broken up and the fragments cast into the river. On the morning of the 7th of November, 1837, a new press arrived, but before it could be set up a mob gathered and attacked the warehouse in which it was stored. Lovejoy and several friends were in the building defending the property. The mob set fire to the house; five of the defenders rushed out and fired upon the mob, dispersing them. Lovejoy then

stepped outside and was shot by rioters concealed behind a pile of lumber, and fell back dead. The crowd then destroyed the press.

When the news of Lovejoy's death reached Boston, Dr. Channing and a hundred citizens applied for the use of Faneuil Hall to adopt resolutions expressive of their feelings over the outrage. It was first refused, then granted. After addresses by Channing and others, the attorney-general of the commonwealth, James T. Austin, made a highly inflammatory address, in which he declared that Lovejoy "died as the fool dieth." Mr. Phillips, though not having gone to the meeting with the expectation of making a speech, took the platform, and with thrilling eloquence condemned the words of Austin: "When I heard the gentleman lay down principles which placed the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips," pointing to their portraits on the wall, "would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead." There was instant uproar, and it was with difficulty that he was allowed to finish his speech, one which placed the young lawyer in the front rank of American orators.

But the eloquence of Phillips did not convert the crowd to sympathy with his views, and many just-minded men refused to subscribe to the extreme statements of Garrison, either at this time or at any time later on. Garrison's own friends did not always agree with him. He went too far for their wisdom or their fears. James Russell Lowell said: "I do not agree with the abolitionists in their disunion and non-voting theories. They treat ideas as ignorant persons do cherries. They think them unwholesome unless they are swallowed, stones and all. Garrison is so used to standing alone that, like Daniel Boone, he moves away as the world creeps up to him, and goes farther into the wilderness." Many were aroused to sympathy with the unknown slave, with his sufferings exaggerated through the lens of excited imagination; and though immediate emancipation did

not win a large following, the old-time lethargy in the North gave way to a profound interest in the condition of the black man and to dim hopes for some form of relief. The words of Henry Wilson, speaking of the abolitionists, in his story of the rise and fall of the slave power in America, are true: "Whatever may be the estimate of the weight of their influence on public opinion, none will ever doubt the sincerity of their convictions, the purity of their motives, the boldness of their utterances, or the inflexibility of their purposes." Of more influence than the organized effort of anti-slavery societies in arousing popular sentiment in the North and preparing the way for the success of a party pledged to the restriction of slavery were experiences connected with the practical workings of the system of slavery; among which were the denial of the right of petition, the violence of mobs, and assaults upon the peace of the land.

Moreover, when property has the power of locomotion, it may be expected to choose its own place of residence and fashion of life. It was thus with negroes escaping from the slave to the free States and to Canada. It may also be expected that haters of slavery will aid the runaway. Years before the missionary fervor of Garrison earned its bitter arraignment from the South, the "Underground Railroad" was an efficient cause of maledictions on the part of owners whose slaves had fled North to Ohio River, crossed it, and pushed on to Canada. Negroes were aided in their escape by people who transported them or directed them forward along routes known only to those in the secrets of the system. As early as 1804, clandestine methods of assisting runaways to gain their liberty were in operation around Philadelphia. The abolitionist was sometimes an ex-Southerner who detested the Fugitive Slave Law, but most generally a quiet Quaker of Pennsylvania, an obscure farmer, a preacher, or a lawyer, who lent a quick hand to the helpless black.

As the mild form of slavery with which the century opened deepened into harsher discipline and the more

frequent transfer of the slave to the Gulf States, the activity of the "Underground Railroad" increased. The close of the War of 1812 found information as to ways of reaching Canada filtering southward. Ohio by reason of its being the shortest bridge between the South and Canada became the scene of many a thrilling escape of a fugitive from the hands of pursuers. Before 1840 the agencies of the "Railroad," its stations, and friends were known to the initiated as far North as Vermont and as far South as the Gulf.

Negotiations for the better enforcement of the fugitive slave laws were no bar to the use of the hidden routes. The barn of the Rev. John Rankin, at Ripley, Ohio, the out-of-the-way room in the house of Joshua R. Giddings, in the Western Reserve, a hollow wood pile, a hay rick with a blind entrance, the belfry of a church and kindred hiding places defeated the search of the irate pursuers. While there was no national organization of the forces of the system for the aid of fleeing negroes, yet the name of the Rev. Levi Coffin, a fearless, genial Quaker, was long passed from mouth to mouth as that of the president of the "Underground Railroad." He is said to have assisted one hundred slaves annually for thirty years to find their way northward. The tide set toward the North Star with increasing energy as the years passed on. The North was occupying the anomalous position of one summoned by law to return fugitives and yet defeated in her efforts by the sympathy with negroes of a small but active portion of her population.

CHAPTER XIV

JACKSON'S SECOND TERM

ON March 4, 1833, Andrew Jackson entered upon his second presidential term, the oath of office being administered by the venerable Chief Justice Marshall. Martin Van Buren also took the oath of office as vice-president. The inaugural was almost wholly taken up with the announcement of obligations to preserve the integrity of the Union and the rights of the States. The president lacked but a few days of his sixty-sixth birthday. The country was prosperous, its integrity assured, its dignity in relation to foreign affairs had been well guarded, and a new respect for the white-haired old soldier appeared in quarters where formerly he had been regarded as an interloper, more daring than prudent, and deserving sneers rather than applause. He stood in the fulness of distinction. Three days after his second inauguration he received a cordial invitation from Hartford, Connecticut, to visit that section of the Union. Early in June, he left Washington, going through Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. When riding up Broadway he was the object of much curiosity, of profound respect, of unchecked admiration. He made a noteworthy picture in the eye of the English traveller, Abdy, as he sat his horse, like a centaur, his stiff white hair crowning a distinguished figure. On his arrival at Boston, though the aristocrats of Beacon Hill gazed at him from behind concealing curtains, he was the recipient of honors which

Harvard was wont to bestow upon guests noted for culture, for the degree of doctor of law was conferred upon him. Adams called this "a sycophantic compliment," but Adams was not now in a genial frame of mind. The tour took the president as far north as Concord, New Hampshire. Everywhere the "people" gave him a hearty and enthusiastic welcome. A shrewd and humorous outcome of the trip was the contribution to the *New York Advertiser* of the *Letters* of "Major Jack Downing" by Seba Smith, the forerunner of modern political humorists.

At Concord, Jackson suddenly turned his face homeward, and in three days arrived, on the 4th of July, at Washington. Ill health was the reason given for the abrupt termination of the tour, but it is not unlikely that other motives operated to hasten the president's return. He had decided on his course toward the Bank and was eager to follow it. Jackson interpreted his reelection as a call of the masses to smite the dragon, and he was not the sort of St. George to delay the finishing stroke. At the last session of Congress he had recommended the removal of deposits, but by a large majority compliance was refused. Now, stronger than ever, he bore down with irresistible energy upon the "foe of democracy." Votes of confidence in the safety of the government deposits in the vaults of the Bank, even by a majority of two to one, could not turn him from his purpose. No disagreement among his followers swerved the direct blow of his will. In the Cabinet, McLane and Cass were against the proposed removal of the government funds from the Bank's custody, and at first Van Buren stood with them. Taney, the trusted adviser of the president, favored the attack. Benton commended and Lewis condemned it. The main inciters of Jackson's attack were Kendall and Blair. There was enough of uncertainty as to the president's course before Jackson toured New England to lead Biddle to say "he would not dare to remove them [the deposits]." But he did not know his foe. McLane was transferred to the state department on May 29, 1833, and

William J. Duane, of Philadelphia, took his place. He had been asked to take the office as early as December 4, 1832, and agreed to do so on the 30th of January, 1833. This shows Jackson's purpose in 1832. But by June 3d, Jackson found Duane stubbornly set against removals.

On September 18th, a paper was read before the Cabinet, addressed, in fact, to the people of the country, in which the right of the president to order the removals was argued, and in which the charges of corruption were reiterated, and the late overwhelming vote was interpreted as a sort of mandate to action. Two days later the *Globe* announced that removals of public moneys would be made to State banks. The protests of Duane were as idle wind. He compelled the president to dismiss him, refusing to resign, that the responsibility might be disclosed. Roger B. Taney, the author of the paper of the 18th took Duane's place and on September 26th issued the order that deposits of federal moneys should no longer be made with the Bank or its branches. The order directed the deposit of government moneys in twenty-three banks selected by Kendall, and nicknamed "pet banks," by the opposition. The Bank took the blow in sturdy fashion. Its loans were curtailed, and it was saved from the swamping effect of the discrimination against it. Yet there was much suffering in many quarters, and for six months distress prevailed. There was no actual removal of deposits. The government funds held by the Bank were not touched by the administration; further deposits were simply withheld. But the phrase "removal of deposits" gained instant currency, and the fact that they were not removed went unnoticed. The venom of Amos Kendall, the chief inspirer of Jackson's purpose in the long conflict with the Bank, is seen in a letter to the *New York Standard*, in which he said, October 9th: "This boasting giant is now but a reptile beneath the feet of the secretary of the treasury, which he can crush at will." On his side Biddle looked to Congress for relief, and showed his spirit in a letter to Joseph Hopkinson: "This relief, to be useful

and permanent, must come from Congress and from Congress alone. . . . This worthy President thinks that because he has scalped Indians and imprisoned Judges, he is to have his way with the Bank. He is mistaken."

The Twenty-third Congress met on the 2d of December, 1833. It has been styled the "Star Congress," and well did it deserve the title. Its rolls are loaded with great names. Its proceedings were watched with admiration. Its oratory was unsurpassed. The fifth message of the president contained his fifth assault upon the Bank, argued the wisdom of the order for removals, offered the executive congratulations over the general prosperity of the country, and with consistent pertinacity recommended a six-year term for the president and the vice-president. Both Houses had for months but one topic for discussion,—the order removing government deposits from the Bank. In the House there was a majority for the administration, but the Senate was safely on the side of the opposition. Within the first week three offensive subjects were made matter for sharp discussion: the president's decisive mention of the Bank; the secretary's defence of his removals of deposits; and the president's veto of Clay's land bill providing for the grant of proceeds of land sales to the States. To the last measure Jackson objected on the ground that the States would have special interest in keeping up the price of land adverse to the interests of the settlers.

Those who hoped for a sensational contest between the president and the Senate were not disappointed. The fight was opened by Clay on December 10, 1833, who offered a resolution asking if the paper read on the 18th of September to the Cabinet was genuine, and if so that a copy be furnished for the Senate. The president indignantly refused compliance with the resolution, designed to fix upon him the responsibility for the order for the removal of the deposits. In its turn the Senate refused to confirm the presidential nomination of five directors of the Bank. On the 26th of December, Clay offered a resolution of censure: "That the

president, in the late executive proceedings, in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." In the scathing speech accompanying the resolution he compared Jackson to Cæsar, who seized the purse of Rome. Calhoun, even more stinging in his denunciation, declared that the act of Cæsar was virtuous in contrast with the course of Jackson. Webster with less sarcasm was equally forcible in his criticism of the order.

After three months of brilliant but defamatory debate, the Senate, on March 28, 1834, passed the resolution by a vote of twenty-six to twenty. It remained on the record for three years. On April 15th, Jackson sent his "protest," and demanded that it be made a part of the record of the Senate. The Senate denied his right by a vote of twenty-seven to sixteen. When the president nominated Taney for secretary of the treasury the Senate rejected his name. Chief Justice Marshall died in July, 1835, and the name of Taney was sent down for the vacant place, but the confirmation was not granted till March 15, 1836.

On the passage of the vote of censure, Benton declared that he would offer a motion for expunging it from the record at each session until it should pass. The matter became a part of State campaigns and a test of party loyalty. Distress petitions flowed in from various sections, mainly north and east, urging relief from the financial strain, but to no purpose. Committees were received by Jackson with little show of courtesy. Monster delegations, fervid oratory, editorial argument, vainly beat upon the granite will. A burlesque close to one of Clay's most heated outbursts somewhat tempered the violence of the hour. In his peroration Clay told the vice-president to go to Jackson and save him from further exasperation of a much injured people: "Entreat him to pause and to reflect that there is a point beyond which human endurance cannot go; and let him not drive this brave, generous, and patriotic people to madness and despair." The placid Van Buren decorously

listened to the glowing speech, and at its finish called a Senator to the chair, walked to where Clay sat, asked him for a pinch of snuff, got it, and turned back to his place. But the astute man from New York and the iron-willed borderer from Tennessee were apart by a wide space.

Every obstruction that the Bank could throw in the way of an examination of its books was invented by the able Biddle. The committee appointed by Congress, April 4, 1834, returned with empty hands, and the investigation ended with a motion to arrest Biddle and his fellow directors. The Bank was ill-prepared to rest under the suspicions of the people, and asked the Senate for an investigation. While the examination of the accounts of the Bank was favorable enough, the masses held to the impression of the iniquitous character of the Bank. The summer of 1834 was marked by constant diatribes, ferocious charges, malignant calumniations. Fury dwelt in both camps. On the one side Biddle was "Czar Nicholas" or else the "Old Nick," despot or devil, or both. Jackson was worse than Cæsar or Napoleon, he was a tyrant and a usurper, and was abused with unexampled scurrility.

The congressional campaign of 1834 virtually sealed the fate of the Bank. The "Whigs," as the new party opposed to the Democrats was now called, gave the Bank their support; but with the discovery that "the people had decided against it," as Webster put it, not even Biddle's reproaches could retain the great statesman and his friends in loyal coöperation. The expiration of the national charter would fall on the 3d of March, 1836. On February 18th, a new charter was issued by the authority of the legislature of Pennsylvania, the State becoming a party to a corrupt contract. Though we anticipate events, it is fitting to add that in 1841, the Bank collapsed. Biddle had retired from connection with it in 1839, but he fell with it, was arraigned on a charge of conspiracy, escaped on a technicality, and died in 1844, a broken-hearted debtor. If not one of the charges of Jackson was ever proved against the Bank of the United

States, it remains a fair judgment that the end of the Pennsylvania bank "was so ignominious that no one wanted to remember that he had ever believed in it."

In dealing with foreign relations Jackson earned general praise. Trade with Britain in the West Indies had caused deep irritation for half a century. Both in 1815 and in 1818, Great Britain had refused to entertain anything like reciprocity in any negotiations with the United States, and neither Rush nor Gallatin was able to secure favorable terms for American trade. The retaliatory measures of the Act of Congress in 1818 prevented profitable and honest trade with the Islands. Smuggling became the order of the day. Mutual acts of retaliation in Congress and Parliament made an amicable agreement almost impossible. Adams failed to avail himself of the privilege of the year 1825 for securing concessions offered by Great Britain, and in 1826 a British, and in 1827 an American prohibition of trade left an inheritance of bad feeling for the incoming administration. The new secretary of state, Van Buren, was more conciliatory than his predecessor. The first message of Jackson referred to the British as "allies distinguished in peace and war," and in his instructions to McLane at the British Court, he spoke of the late election in such a manner as to indicate his desire that the British authorities should view his elevation to the presidency as a criticism of the acts of Adams. At the same time he did not hesitate to warn Great Britain that she must at once and finally decide for or against trade between the United States and the British West Indies. The negotiations turned out well, and in October, 1830, the president with the concurrence of Congress, declared that the same privileges should be extended to British vessels coming from the colonies as were granted to American vessels. In November, a similar grant was made to American vessels by British orders in council. In nothing else did the ability of the administration so commend itself to the favor of the people at large. The charges of toadyism to foreign courts

which Clay and Webster flung at the executive were not seriously regarded by the masses, for they knew that Jackson was not a toady to anybody on earth.

Equal firmness and adroitness prepared the way for the settlement of the French spoliation claims. These had been discussed ever since the time of the "decrees" of Napoleon, but now for the first time they were vigorously pressed. Under the British "orders in council" and the French "decrees" numberless spoliations were committed upon the commerce of the United States. The character of these outrages was peculiarly exasperating. Ships were often confiscated on the ground that they had been boarded by officers from a British man-of-war; or because they had been forced to enter a British harbor; or American citizens were detained in France on the ground that they were suspected of being English. The War of 1812 had settled the ills that had come from the British "orders," but the French "decrees" left a burden of which American diplomacy failed to dispose. The French government admitted the justice of the claim for compensation, but disputed its amount. Jackson's message of December, 1829, declared that unless these claims were satisfied they would continue "to be a subject of unpleasant discussion and possible collision between the two governments." In December, 1830, the subject was again brought to the attention of Congress, and on July 4, 1831, a treaty was concluded by which France agreed to pay twenty-five million francs and the United States one and a half million francs for settlement of all claims between the respective governments. When the first French instalment fell due and was unpaid, Jackson, in his message of December, 1834, indulged in language of undeniable violence and condemned the dilatory tactics of France. Edward Livingston, who was soon to be succeeded by Lewis Cass as minister to France, had said that much depended on the tone of the forthcoming message. He was right. If France had deferred payment because the United States was too moderate, she was now enraged, for

she regarded the words of Jackson as a "menace." War was possible. The House was unanimous in its support of Jackson, and on the night of March 2, 1835, declared that the treaty must be observed. John Quincy Adams yielded to none in his Americanism, and, despite his opposition to the administration, supported its policy toward France. In his message of 1835, Jackson denied having made a threat and refused to make any apology. France now found a way of dignified retreat, and on March 19, 1836, four instalments of the indemnity were ordered paid to the United States, and the matter ended amicably.

Not less successful was Jackson in settling spoliation claims against Denmark and Spain. The Napoleonic wars had involved the United States with Denmark, which justified its capture of American vessels under British convoy, and contended that the condemnation of vessels in Danish prize tribunals must be accepted as final. After long discussion Henry Wheaton, a distinguished publicist, negotiated a treaty by which an indemnity was paid to the United States by Denmark to the amount of six hundred and fifty thousand dollars. With Spain the United States had a series of troubles growing out of the purchase of Louisiana and the attempt to annex Florida. In her efforts to deprive her South American colonies of their independence Spain was brought into collision with the United States and inflicted damage upon the commerce of the latter. After seven years of negotiation it was agreed in 1834 that Spain should pay in full the demands of the United States. Diplomacy was also fruitful in closing treaties of commerce with other European and Asiatic countries, with the States on the northern border of Africa, and with Mexico, Chili, Venezuela, and neighboring confederations. An era of peace brooded over the world and the Western Continent had its share of prosperity.

Even with unlimited acres unoccupied the Anglo-Saxon hunger for land caused the United States to turn covetous eyes to the southwestern boundary of the nation, where the young sister republic of Mexico was but poorly furthering

the interests of her people dwelling between Red and Rio Grande Rivers.

The overthrow of Bonaparte scattered some of his soldiers on the American shores. Congress, in 1817, gave them nearly one hundred thousand acres on the banks of the Alabama on condition of their introducing the culture of the vine and the olive; but the veterans made indifferent farmers, and in time they pushed on to Texas. There they endeavored to plant a colony, independent and self-supporting, but in vain. Checked by the Spaniards, they were again scattered, and, like rivers whose mouths vanish in the desert, they disappeared.

In the land where the French accomplished nothing American colonists laid the foundation of a mighty State. Mexico wrought out her independence of Spain in 1821. A kindly policy toward foreigners was adopted, and grants of land were offered to Americans on liberal terms. The country was sparsely settled, the old missions were in decay, only small parcels of land in cultivation surrounded the few forts and churches. The shadow of the white man had fallen with sinister result across the path of the native Indian. Early in 1821, Moses Austin, of Connecticut, obtained a grant of land lying in the province of Texas, on the banks of the Brazos, on condition of settling a number of Catholic families thereon. The father dying, his son, Stephen Fuller Austin, began the work of introducing the germ of liberal institutions into the heart of the Spanish domain. A few years later emigration from the lower Mississippi valley poured in and Austin obtained an extension of his first grant. Within a few years the whole of Texas might almost be said to have been granted to colonizers.

The influx of Americans and their desire to control the country and to maintain customs and institutions that were not only distasteful to the Mexicans, but in certain cases contrary to their law, led to continual conflicts between the races. These altercations now and again threatened to end in widespread insurrections, and, indeed, abortive uprisings did

occur. Then followed in order obstruction of colonization from the United States, oppression, dissatisfaction in the colony, the refusal to admit Texas as a sovereign State into the Mexican confederation, and finally the imprisonment of Austin. On his release he prepared for war. Goliad was taken by assault. The victor was appointed commissioner to the United States to create sympathy among his American countrymen. "Texas meetings" were held, North as well as South, at which money was freely subscribed.

If the Jackson administration was not guilty of perfidious designs upon the domain, it laid itself open to grave suspicions of underhanded methods of accomplishing the so-called "re-annexation" of the province. In 1832, Jackson sent his old companion in arms, Sam Houston, to the Southwest, and there he regained his grip upon a declining fame. Upon the establishment of a provisional government at Austin, Houston was made commander-in-chief. Santa Anna, at the head of the Mexican forces, captured the Alamo on March 6, 1836, and slaughtered the whole band of brave defenders, who, under Colonel Travis, had fought heroically, defying for two weeks two thousand Mexicans, ten times their own force. The Mexicans began a war of extermination. Six miles east of Goliad a body of Texans under Colonel Fanning, who was striving to effect a junction with Houston, were slaughtered after their surrender. This and similar atrocities fired the Texans to utmost exertions. On March 2d, Texas declared her independence, and on the 17th of the same month the Constitution of Texas was adopted. The cruel issue of the siege of the Alamo roused the Southwest. With the cry "Remember the Alamo!" volunteers rallied under the redoubtable Houston. On April 21st, Santa Anna met General Houston at San Jacinto, only to be routed, and the day following to be captured. In captivity he promised liberal things, and when released he broke his word. It mattered little so far as the wily leader of the Mexicans was concerned, for other hands were upon the helm of the fortunes of Texas.

Efforts had been made by Clay to buy Texas for one million, and by Van Buren for five million dollars. In August, 1835, Forsyth, secretary of state, proposed to include the Rio Grande as far as the thirty-seventh parallel, and thence to the Pacific. These overtures for the peaceful acquisition of the territory fell through, and it was left to force to supersede milder measures. General Gaines was posted between Sabine and Nueces Rivers, ostensibly to guard the soil of the Union from the Indians. The Mexican minister demanded his passports. Public opinion veering somewhat, Jackson was led to take up the more pacific alternative of spoliation claims. By this sort of pressure Mexico was brought to realize the power of the United States to "extend the area of freedom," to borrow the words of Jackson.

Within two months after the battle of San Jacinto both Houses of the Connecticut legislature, the first to act, passed resolutions requesting their representatives in Congress to "use their best endeavors to procure the acknowledgment, on the part of the United States, of the independence of Texas." Austin, the founder of the new State being a son of Connecticut, it took action even before Virginia, whence came Houston, the hero of San Jacinto. With this action of the New England State, Ohio and Pennsylvania sympathized in July. If obscure intrigue accompanied the introduction of Texas into American life, it was not evident at this time, for John C. Calhoun, during the debate of the summer of 1836, openly favored the recognition proposed, on the ground that it was in line with the speedy admission of Texas into the Union, and thus it would aid in the preservation of the needed equilibrium between the North and the South.

On July 4, 1836, both Houses voted to favor the independence of Texas upon her demonstration of ability to maintain it. The president, in his message of December 21st, recommended delay. Yet on the last day that he used his official pen he recognized Texas by signing a bill,

which the Senate was quicker to pass than the House, to appoint a minister to Texas. The retiring president never ceased to watch over the interests of this vast territory with the keenest attention, and bequeathed a policy to his successors whose result was the deepening distrust on the part of the North in the increasing eagerness of the South to gain more territory for the overflow of the slaveholding power.

As the second term of Jackson drew to its close two States were added to the Union, which had not been augmented since 1821, when Missouri entered after much and bitter discussion. Arkansas came in June 15, 1836, and Michigan January 26, 1837. Arkansas was the twelfth State organized from territory not included in the list of the charter States of the Union. By Act of Congress, March 2, 1819, a separate Territorial government had been organized in the Southern part of the Territory of Missouri. In succession it had been in the hands of Spain, and of France, and now it fell to the lot of the white settler of American birth to attempt its transformation from a wilderness into the home of civilization. James Miller was appointed first governor of the new Territory.

A bill was introduced into the Senate January 29, 1834, to enable the people of the Territory to form a constitution preparatory to entering the Union. Without an enabling act, but by vote of a popular convention January 4, 1836, Arkansas claimed "the right of admission into the Union, consistent with the federal constitution, and by virtue of the treaty of cession by France." This action anticipated Congress and proved a barrier to the immediate grant of statehood.

The constitution adopted by Arkansas fixed the boundaries as follows: "Beginning in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River, on the parallel of thirty-six degrees north latitude, running from thence West, with the said parallel of latitude, to the Saint Francis River; thence up the main channel of the said river to the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes North; from thence West to the southwest corner of the State of Missouri;

and from thence to be bounded on the West, to the north bank of Red River, by the lines described in the first article of the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Nation of Indians, west of the Mississippi, made and concluded at the city of Washington, May 26, 1828; and to be bounded on the South side of Red River by the Mexican boundary line, to the northwest corner of the State of Louisiana; thence East with the Louisiana State line to the middle of the main channel of Mississippi River; thence up the middle of the main channel of the said river to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, the point of beginning." The bill in Congress was delayed in its passage, and not until March 14, 1836, was action taken upon it. A committee was then appointed to consider and report upon the expediency of granting the petition. The bill reached its third reading on April 4, 1836. The population of the Territory had now (January, 1836) reached forty-seven thousand in number. The proposed area, though less than the extent of the Territory, included forty-two thousand square miles, an amount a little in excess of Alabama. In climate and products and character of inhabitants it occupied a position about half way between Louisiana and Missouri. Like the latter it was rich in minerals, and like the former it enjoyed a climate and soil favorable to agriculture.

The Constitutional Convention of 1836, held at Little Rock, declared "That all free men, when they form a social compact, are equal and have certain inherent and inalienable rights." The constitution of Arkansas was more liberal than those of other Southern States, and gave negroes the right of trial by jury. During the discussion upon the admission of Arkansas and Michigan at Washington it was remarked by Senator Benton that it was a good omen to see the two Territories placing the conduct of their cases in the hands of gentlemen coming from opposite sections of the Union, a man from the North asking statehood for Arkansas and one from the South asking it for Michigan. He thought "the abolition question

had died out." The bill to admit Arkansas was passed by a vote of thirty-one to six. A chief objection to admitting either of the Territories was that both formed constitutions without the consent of Congress. Neither constitution was, however, objectionable. Speaking of Arkansas, John Quincy Adams said: "She is entitled to admission as a slave State by virtue of that article in the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana which secures to the inhabitants of the ceded territories all the rights, privileges and immunities of the original citizens of the United States. . . . It is written in the bond and however I may lament that it was so written, I must faithfully perform its obligations." Had sentiment and not law prevailed, Adams would have voted against the admission of the Southern State. The first governor of the new State, from 1836 to 1840, was J. S. Conway, who traced his ancestry back to the holders of Castle Conway, Wales. Born in Tennessee in 1798, he became a surveyor of western lands, and with four friends founded Little Rock, afterward the capital of the State. He was succeeded by Archibald Yell, from 1840 to 1844, who received his death blow from a Mexican lancer at the battle of Buena Vista. His successor was Thomas S. Drew, who rose from a farm boy's position through the grades of travelling merchant and school teacher to the highest office in the State. The speculation which was so rank throughout the West was especially pronounced in the early years of the State of Arkansas, and made the position of governor a most difficult one to fill. The South gained by the entrance of Arkansas. But the pendulum swung back in the admission of Michigan. The greater part of the territory of this State was bought from the Indians by Henry R. Schoolcraft, the Indian commissioner, after a tedious negotiation during the winter of the great debate between Hayne and Webster. Six years elapsed before it applied for admission into the Union and then under circumstances which tried the patience of the government and nearly provoked an armed

quarrel with Ohio. The constitution of Ohio gave that State, on the northwest, a line drawn from the southernmost point of Lake Michigan to the northwest cape of Maumee Bay. The southern boundary of Michigan had been described by the Act of 1805, which organized the Territory, a due east and west line drawn through the southernmost point of Lake Michigan. Indiana's northern boundary had been described as ten miles north of this line. This reduced Michigan's territory. A popular convention, which framed a constitution, was held September, 1835. Jackson ordered Asbury Dickens, assistant secretary of state, to warn them that the consent of Congress must first be secured. But this was of little avail. The "Toledo War," as a Detroit paper called it, was serious enough to the inhabitants of the Maumee valley, though but the occasion for gibes and ridicule to many far removed from the scene of trouble. June 15, 1836, Michigan was admitted into the Union with Arkansas, but on condition of the acceptance of the southern boundary line resulting from the northern line of Ohio and Indiana. This Michigan at first rejected, but in December, 1836, the condition was agreed to, and on January 26, 1837, it was admitted to statehood in the Union. Not quite half a century had elapsed since the Union had been formed, but it had now exactly double the number of States with which it started. Such marvellous progress, so swift, and so stable, was an entirely new thing in human history. Each successive margin of advance into the wilderness marked the burial spot of doleful prediction overthrown by the emigrant's boundless hope and daring.

In his stirring oration at Plymouth in 1820, Daniel Webster said: "Ere long the sons of the Pilgrims will be on the shores of the Pacific." New England was the first to make fixed settlements upon the western coast, and the second term of Jackson is notable for the arrival of the sons of the Pilgrims in the far West. Only the most niggard page would refuse mention of the earliest settlers of Oregon. The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company

had been to shut out all encroachments of American emigrants, to keep their vast domain as a game preserve. The expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1805 had aroused British jealousy. These explorers demonstrated the practicability of establishing a line of communication across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The commercial scheme of John Jacob Astor contemplated a line of trading posts along the Missouri and the Columbia to the mouth of the latter, and making it a place of convergence and deposit for trade. Astoria was founded just before the opening of the War of 1812, but its speedy fall was inevitable. At the return of peace, in 1815, it reverted to the United States by the Treaty of Ghent, and Captain James Biddle was despatched in the sloop-of-war *Ontario*, in 1817, to take possession. Astor made no effort to reoccupy Astoria, and the British government finding the region of great worth manifested a desire to include it within its territorial domains. In the treaty of 1818 the question was left open, yet it was agreed that the country claimed by either nation should be open to inhabitants of both for ten years for purchase and trade. The treaty of 1828 extended the arrangement for ten additional years. While the country belonged neither to the British nor to the Americans, the former had gained the advantage in the race for supremacy, for scarcely two hundred Americans had crossed the mountains at the end of the first quarter of the century, and Britons seemed to be able to control the whole of the land drained by Columbia River. And while in stated agreement the British were claiming "no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory," still the prospects of American control were indeed dim.

The debate of 1828-1829 showed not only indifference but ignorance concerning Oregon. Appalling pictures of mountains, drought, and desert were held up to discourage action. If we did not take it, another power would; what matter? If we should enter and occupy, and a vigorous community should spring into life, what bond of affection

could exist between the East and the far West? Were not the Rocky Mountains nature's decree against the plan to settle and unite the two distant shores? Some were hopeful and urged immediate action, but the vote of January 9, 1829, rejected the bill to extend the laws of the United States over Oregon. The right of prior discovery and of exploration was ours, but Oregon was to be held by settlement. Whoever could plant homes there would win. It was with little of the sordid eagerness to occupy new lands, so often the accompaniment of earliest immigrations, that Oregon was taken for the flag of the free republic. In no movement of the restless frontiersman has there been more of daring, less of cruel selfishness, than in the case of the Christian missionaries to whose enterprise and devotion Oregon owes its membership in the Union.

In 1832, four Nez Percés and Flathead Indians, from the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains made their slow way to St. Louis, and remained several months with General Clark. They had come to ask for the white man's Book, of which they had heard, and in which they felt might be revealed a vision of his superiority. Their white friends encouraged them to eat and drink, but not to state their petition. Two of their number died. As the survivors were about to take their departure, one of them unburdened his soul in words which a young clerk took down at the time, and later sent East: "The two fathers who came with me—the braves of many winters and wars—we leave asleep here by your great water. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins worn out. My people sent me here to get the white man's Book from Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance, as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You showed me images of good spirits and pictures of the good land beyond, but the Book was not among them. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people of the dark land. You make my feet heavy with the burdens of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among



Thomas H. Benton. *From the original painting in possession of
the Missouri Historical Society.*

them. When I tell my poor, blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one, they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to the other hunting grounds. No man will go with them and no white man's book to make the way plain. I have no more words."

The two older Indians were dead. Of the two younger, only one survived to reach his tribe on Snake River, but he brought word that the white men would in time come with good tidings. In George Catlin's list of pictured red men, the two younger men, whom he painted on their way up the river as they journeyed home, are numbered two hundred and seven and two hundred and eight. Catlin says: "When I first heard of the report of this extraordinary mission across the mountains, I could scarcely believe it; but on conversing with General Clark on a future occasion, I found it true; and I, like thousands of others, have had the satisfaction of witnessing the complete success that has crowned the bold and daring exertions of Mr. Lee and Mr. Spalding."

. The pathetic appeal of the Indians was published in the *Christian Advocate*, in New York, and immediately the churches in the East were aroused. The Methodists answered the call of Dr. Wilbur Fisk, and in 1834, Rev. Jason Lee, a born leader of men, with his brother Daniel, went to Oregon overland, with Captain Nathaniel Wyeth, of Wenham, Massachusetts, who had in 1832 established a fishing station on Savries Island. The missionaries intended to settle east of the Cascade Mountains, but were persuaded by the superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company to make their home in the Willamette valley, where they established a school near the present site of Salem. In 1836, Marcus Whitman, M.D., and Rev. H. H. Spalding, with their wives and others, crossed the plains and began a mission at Walla Walla, among the Indians in eastern

Oregon. The wives of the missionaries were the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains. By 1842, there were two hundred and forty whites in the settlements. Within a generation from the time of the purchase of Louisiana, when the Union crossed Mississippi River, the foundation was laid for a noble State, and the nation possessed an unbroken expanse from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The debt of the Union to these missionaries, whose heroism reached its height in the ride of Dr. Whitman taken a few years later back to the settlements of the Mississippi and thence to Washington, is told in the barest recital of the facts.

Yet the United States were not fully settled in character. They had not their boundaries clearly defined. The northern boundary line was not drawn till ninety years after the achievement of independence. A long series of negotiations marked the path of the diplomacy between Great Britain and the United States. In 1817, a joint commission divided the islands lying off the coast of Maine between Great Britain and the United States, but failed to agree upon the line from the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence. In 1827, a commission referred the matter of the northeast boundary to William, King of the Netherlands. His award on January 10, 1831, gave satisfaction to neither of the countries and was rejected by both. So the period of this volume ends with no definite line to the north, the south, the west.

The second administration of Jackson was not to earn for him such praise as had his first. True, there were as devoted followers, but not that unanimity of support that made him feel sure of his ground at the end of his first term. His second term was characterized by more precipitate actions, more bitter opposition, more anxiety about the consequences of certain executive orders. Speculation was rampant, the financial condition had been treated with unthrift and lack of foresight, and the future bore two faces as men possessed or lacked penetration. The mob spirit seemed, especially in the year 1835, to be abroad in the

land. An attempt was made in January of that year upon the life of the president by one Lawrence, as the funeral procession of Warren R. Davis, a representative from South Carolina, was passing out of the eastern front of the Capitol. The assassin fired twice, but both pistols missed fire. The trial of Lawrence clearly showed that he had no accomplices, and that the outrageous charge of the president that one of the senators had instigated the attempt at assassination was baseless. The suspected senator, Poindexter, from Mississippi, heard of the suspicions of the president, and demanded an investigation by the Senate, which unanimously vindicated his innocence. However, more was needed than the support of his fellows in Congress to uphold a man against the displeasure of Jackson. Poindexter, though a Democrat, was an outcast in his own party, where independence was not at a premium.

In the opposite camp stood the ablest and bravest of men, John Quincy Adams. He saw the adulation upon which the president was feeding. He felt that his plans for internal improvement were under the ban of the present administration, and, as he wrote, the system "has been undisguisedly abandoned by Clay, ingloriously deserted by Calhoun, and silently given up by Webster." The support Adams lost by this position he gained in the field of debate in the House. He was chosen to deliver the eulogy upon Lafayette at the opening of the session of the Twenty-third Congress. Opposed as he was to the administration in the main, he yet gave it his support in the matter of the French claims, and aroused the House to its greatest enthusiasm. He was a combination of cool judgment and passionate patriotism. He was not conciliatory, was given to the bitterness of sarcasms and appalling invective, but his profound knowledge and his stubborn integrity earned for him an increasing confidence which partly paid for the earlier neglect. Although he could not gain affection as his tribute from men, he won unbounded respect. The furrowed countenance, the scanty, silvered hair, the unstudied apparel,

the high-pitched and rasping voice, the unsociable pride, have told one tale of the "old man eloquent." His isolation was unique. Clay was not now the friend he had been. Adams was disgusted with Rush for defending the removal of the treasury deposits and taking favors from Jackson. Webster was to him the man "of giant intellect and rotten heart." A gulf lay between him and Calhoun. He would not accept reconciliation with R. M. Johnson. But his hour came for honor. He had been senator, minister to Great Britain, secretary of state, and president, yet his greatest distinction awaited him as representative in Congress.

If ever in our history a Congressman stood nearly alone in the defence of a cause, that man was John Quincy Adams as he contended against the effort to suppress the right of petition. The agitation of the abolitionists poured into Congress hundreds of memorials against the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia. Though not in sympathy with the views of Garrison and his followers, Adams, while openly disavowing faith in the doctrines of abolitionism, held the right of petition "sacred, to be vindicated at all hazards." The rumblings of the storm were first heard in 1831, when Mr. Adams presented fifteen petitions from inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in the main directed against slavery in the District. If not annoyed he was at first indifferent in the discharge of this duty. But he grew terribly earnest, almost ferociously so, in a few years.

Soon after the formation of the National Anti-Slavery Society, in 1833, petitions from others than Quakers began to roll in upon Congress. These were referred to the committee on the District for burial. The storm broke in the sessions of the Twenty-fourth Congress. William Slade, of Vermont, who really provoked the excitement over the anti-slavery petitions, moved that a petition upon the slave question be printed. After sharp debate his motion was laid on the table. Two days later, James H. Hammond,

of South Carolina, moved that another petition be not received. This was two weeks before a like motion was offered in the Senate by Senator Calhoun. Wrangling over the method of getting rid of obnoxious petitions was now the order of the day. For four months in the winter and spring of 1836 the conflict continued. May 26, 1836, a resolution was offered by H. L. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and adopted by the House by a vote of one hundred and seventeen to sixty-eight, declaring that all petitions relating to slavery should be laid on the table without further action. At the call of his name, John Quincy Adams voted neither aye nor nay, but lifted his piercing voice above the din, saying: "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of this House, and the rights of my constituents." This far-reaching resolution was designed utterly to exclude all discussion of the slave question from the House. But no scheme that the House could propose for tabling all such memorials sufficed to choke off the friends of the right of petition. Petitions multiplied tenfold. The climax was reached February 6, 1837, when Adams, true to his purpose to present all petitions, by whomever offered, said that he held in his hand a paper signed by slaves. Would it come in under the rule of the House? Everybody thought the memorial was against slavery, and the House became a volcano. The disgrace of having to receive a petition from negro women of doubtful character exceeded the patience of the honorable body, and a torrent of abusive expostulation was poured upon the head of the venerable statesman. Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, moved that as Mr. Adams had been guilty of gross disrespect, he be instantly haled to the bar of the House and severely censured. Upon the cooling of the frenzy, Mr. Adams said to the members that the petition was not for but against the abolition of slavery. To be thus hoaxed, as they put it, was too much for the House, and Thompson said that Adams might be indicted for stirring up insurrection, and referred to the laws of his

native State. The old statesman, profoundly moved, declared that if South Carolina indicted her legislators for their words in debate, "God Almighty receive my thanks that I am not a citizen of that State!" His appeal so moved the House that the resolution of censure was rejected by a large vote. The House, however, finally voted that slaves did not have the right of petition. For a few more years Mr. Adams fought the "gag" rule, and then, though the recompense came late in life, the victory was his.

When the necessities of the case compelled slaveholders to defend the system not only upon legal grounds but also upon moral ones, and further demanded that they unite in an effort to throttle free speech in Congress, the final issue could not be so far off as many thought, if they reflected upon the future at all. In this connection the significance of a statement made by Mr. Adams on the 25th of May, 1835, and long after appealed to in the Civil War, marks him as a seer of the first rank. "From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of the Constitution extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to a cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

If Congress was closed to the abolitionists, the mails offered them opportunities for the dissemination of their views. When it was discovered that various documents, dangerous to the quiet of the South, were ready for distribution in the post office of Charleston, South Carolina, a mob broke in on the night of July 29, 1835, and carried off and burned a sackful of abolition documents. The postmaster wrote to the official in New York asking him not to send any more such material in the mails. The latter asked instructions from the postmaster general, Amos Kendall, who with diplomatic ambiguity replied: "I cannot sanction, and will not condemn, the step you have taken."

As if to give strongest warrant to the mob spirit President Jackson in his message of the next December, denounced the use of the United States mail by the abolitionists for spreading incendiary literature in the South, and urged Congress to pass a law penalizing such circulation of anti-slavery publications. In keeping with this, Mr. Calhoun reported a bill, which, however, was defeated, and Congress passed an Act in July, 1836, protecting the mails, and punishing any postmaster for intentional detention of mail matter.

Thus stood matters six months before Jackson closed his official career. A strong conviction possessed the South that "equilibrium" must be secured. New territory for slave States must be gained. The same week in which the post office order was enacted, the resolution of which we have spoken passed the House, July 4th, to recognize the independence of Texas when it should be found able to do the work of an independent State. The North and the South were drawing slowly apart, yet were not conscious of it. In the main the popularity of Jackson was secure. He had won victories over many opponents. He had not failed to name his successor. Far in advance of the time for election the Democratic Convention was held in Baltimore, May, 1835, and Martin Van Buren was nominated for president, and Richard M. Johnson for vice-president. The leading Whig candidate was Wm. H. Harrison, of Ohio, with Francis Granger, of New York, for vice-president, nominated by the Whig and anti-Masonic conventions in Pennsylvania. Justice McLean and Daniel Webster were nominated by their respective legislatures of Ohio and of Massachusetts. Hugh L. White was put forward by the independent Democrats of Tennessee. Webster drew out from the race in favor of Harrison. The signs of cleavage which showed in Tennessee in the nomination of White, appeared in October, 1835, at a meeting held in Tammany Hall, New York, in which faction so ruled the hour that when the regulars had taken the

meeting into their hands they voted an adjournment, and extinguished the lights. But not to be driven from their ground, the independents, "Equal Rights" men, lighted candles and loco-foco matches, and remained to frame a platform and set up a ticket. The name "Loco-Focos," which a jesting article on the next day gave them, stuck for nearly a decade.

These nominations preceded the election by a year. The returns of 1836 carried the Middle States for Van Buren, and these were backed up by Virginia and the South, in the main, Georgia and Tennessee going for White, to the chagrin of Jackson. The one hundred and seventy electoral votes which Van Buren received represented a popular majority of twenty-five thousand. Johnson failing to secure enough electoral votes was chosen vice-president by the Senate.

The approaching extinction of the public debt was a matter of concern as well as of congratulation. Like conditions had once before led Jefferson in his second inaugural to advocate the use of surplus revenue for the building up of the material and social enterprises of the States. In 1807 there was a surplus of over five million dollars, but the gun-boat scheme swallowed it up, for the most part. The War of 1812 left nothing to be desired as a means of distributing the surplus. In the ten years after 1817 there was an annual surplus of from two to six millions, which was applied to the payment of the national debt. In 1826, Senator Mahlon Dickerson, of Pennsylvania, advocated the distribution of the surplus for four years among the States in proportion to the direct taxation, holding that it was either this, or a career of extravagance, or the sudden and disastrous reduction of duties. The motion was defeated, and when offered a second time was again set aside. Yet the plan was cherished. In his first message, of December, 1829, President Jackson, finding no way to adjust the tariff to satisfaction, proposed the distribution of the surplus revenue among the States "according to their ratio of representation,"

and, if necessary, that an amendment of the Constitution be secured. A year later, he was not so certain of the wisdom of his words. Objections came from men of sound judgment, and by 1836 Jackson had so changed his views that he would not sanction any such scheme; he was even opposed to any constitutional amendment looking to the end desired. But the seductive poison worked. No one of the leaders seemed anxious to touch the tariff, partly perhaps because it was a sacred compromise, needing time for its proper test, but mainly for the reason that they believed that it was the system of deposits that was impairing the prosperity of the country. After long debate, a bill was passed by which the States were to be the depositories of the surplus, subject to the demands of the treasury. On the 23d of June the bill was signed, though with considerable hesitation, by the president.

Whatever may have been the legal interpretation of the Act, it is well known that the distributionists claimed the victory, and looked upon the deposits as gifts. Clay told his constituents that he "did not believe a single member of either house imagined that a dollar would be recalled." Calhoun, however, declared it was simply a deposit. The general Whig position was that the money should be paid to its rightful owners, the people. None of Jackson's regrets ever availed to secure the return of a dollar to the public treasury. The injury that trailed upon the distribution of the surplus was to induce an extravagance which it was one of the purposes of the Act to avoid.

As the Act would not go into effect for six months, something was needed to check the spirit of frenzied speculation. Credit was all too common, and was grossly abused. But with characteristic impetuosity Jackson ordered the secretary of the treasury to issue the "specie circular," by which after August 15th and until December 15, 1836, nothing but gold and silver was to be received in payment for public lands. The result met expectations, that is, of the financially wise, for it stirred up popular feeling; and while it stopped land

sales to some extent, it wrought no small harm. As it was with the distribution of the surplus, so now it proved to be with the specie payments required by the circular. To pile up the surplus meant harm. To distribute the same brought no relief. To swell the sales of land blew up to portentous size the bubble of speculation. To throttle instantly the credit system invoked peril. So the Senate and the House viewed it. The former voted a bill to annul the circular by forty-one to five, and the latter by one hundred and forty-three to fifty-nine. Jackson refused to sign the bill. Fifteen minutes before midnight of the 3d of March, 1837, he returned it with his veto.

So far as Jackson could arrange the future, it was secure. It yet remained to undo the past, even though in the undoing the triumph of his friends was qualified by giving to memory a fresh grip on the shame of the earlier defeat. Senator Benton, with his persistent appeals to the "verdict of the people," had gained an increasing vote at each successive call for the expunging of the vote of censure of 1834. Finally, at midnight of the 16th of January, 1837, by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen, the expunging resolution was carried; and before a crowd which thronged the chamber, the secretary drew black lines around the original resolution and marked across the face of the sentence the present vote of the Senate. The president gave a banquet to his supporters, and scored another victory over his foes.

Never has another President of the United States gone back to private life with such complete satisfaction as did Jackson. After having issued a "Farewell Address," he journeyed to the "Hermitage," too frail now to enjoy the offered homage which the people spread before him, and for the rest of his life to make his home a centre of influence to be reckoned with in all the councils of Democracy.

In attempting to estimate the political influence of President Jackson many things need to be considered. As to the mere matter of triumphs, no predecessor had won so many victories over his foes. His political rivals, Clay and

Calhoun were conquered. The Bank, his bugbear, was destroyed, catching in its ruin not a few of those who had sneered at the opposition of the old warrior. Congress was doing his bidding, and the Senate had expunged its resolution of censure.

In constructive measures Jackson had done much to win gratitude from a host and resentment from a smaller number. His fame rose with his power as he suppressed nullification. He had pursued a vigorous foreign policy, succeeding where Adams had failed. His party had been thoroughly reorganized, and by naming his successor he had prolonged its life. He felt himself the trusted and mighty champion of the masses. While he deplored sectionalism he knew that he had done all that could be done to reduce its evil influence.

The verdict of history, if a true word, cannot be given, as that of a jury is sometimes, without leaving the room. Years weigh the evidence. The sum of verdicts will have character like the man, greatly mixed, in many features apparently contradictory. His course toward nullification is lavishly praised by some who condemn his spirit and methods in the overthrow of the Bank. As the wilful inaugurator or expander of the spoils system he is held responsible for the catastrophe into which he forced his successors,—with this qualification, that another man in his place, with even less of his disposition to thrust himself into every problem and to translate personal matters into political policies, would have been guilty of outdoing, at that time, any of the previous executives in the removal of officials who were not partisans, and of substituting party henchmen. Not even Jackson's iron will would have been equal to the task of putting to one side the causes which rioted in the unfolding of the spoils system in New York and Pennsylvania.

It is said that his election once and again to the highest place in the nation contributed to the growing disregard for law. Yet it is difficult to concede the justice of this charge,

for Jackson demanded obedience from his followers, as had done every great lover of law and order from Cæsar to Cromwell, and even if the obedience was exacted by the will of a despot, capricious at times and unreasonable, leaving the homage due to law as an abstraction to suffer neglect because it would not flatter, nevertheless the record of America since Jackson's day approves the judgment that the American people are not less lovers of law than before Jackson "reigned."

He gave opportunity to the lower stratum of political life. He was nearer the people than Clay, Webster, or Calhoun. He came from the people, remained with the people, and governed the people. He was a concrete exhibition of popular power. The government of the people, by the people, and for the people, seemed to be able to find itself for the first time in Jackson, an actuality in the nation's life.

In the second decade, the share of the people in government expressed itself notably in the making of State constitutions. There was an evolution, of changing emphasis, from unlimited and hazy powers given to legislatures, to a limitation of privileges and positive directions, or flat prohibitions touching the duties of lawmakers. Life terms of judges were thought undemocratic, and in three of the new States power of removals was left to the executive. In Connecticut the constitution of 1818 mirrored the demands of the people for an instrument of government, free from class distinctions and privileges. In New York manhood rights struggled successfully in 1821 against property rights. In this, Van Buren faced the conservatism of the most renowned legal mind of the State, Chancellor Kent. The liberal provisions were widened still more in 1826. In 1820, Massachusetts amended its constitution, and removed the property qualifications for suffrage, though John Adams and Webster contended for the old way. In 1826, Maryland threw open to Jews its public offices. In 1829, Virginia revised its constitution, still leaving in it

some restrictions upon suffrage. So, all in all, the popular will was gaining in definiteness and range. The abolition of test oaths, religious and property qualifications, non-elective offices, and free executives, with check on legislation, pointed the path of progress.

CHAPTER XV

MATERIAL PROGRESS

THE century opened with much uncertainty as to the ultimate dimensions, the rate of growth, and the future power of the nation. Within thirty years the doubt was largely removed. In 1830, the population stood at thirteen million, and by 1840 it reached seventeen million inhabitants. From 1830 to 1837 immigration trebled. While the growth of a few States was insignificant, that of others was enormous. The North outgrew the South, the West left all other sections behind in the race.

To the West all eyes must turn if the solution of the problems of democracy and nationality was to be secured. The vast land purchase of 1803, next in importance to the Declaration of Independence among the great acts of the Western Continent, added limitless resources to the Union. The next step, that of filling up the waste places with a race of home makers, was taken so swiftly that the too common scepticism of the East was struck dumb with wonder. A living wedge was thrust between the Indians lying north of the mouth of the Ohio and those bordering the Gulf. Their menace was lessening. The wigwam gave place to the log hut. The daring immigrant could not wait for Congress to vote a road, but cut his way westward or floated with favoring current to his destination too fast for the provisions of a financial grant.

The development of the West was not a matter of scrutinizing consciousness for the people who took part in it.

The great body of settlers could not be expected to interpret the significance of the movements of the throng of frontiersmen as they drifted down stream or climbed mountains or threaded dense forests, with every stride or stroke of oar seeking the subjugation of nature first, and next laying the foundations of vigorous social and political structures which so soon were to become the sequel of the earlier lawlessness and hazards and hard toil. History knows no fellow to the readiness with which scattered settlements associated themselves, as if by instinct, into self-sustaining and well-ordered States, and to the willingness with which they offered to bear the burdens of the Federal life.

The net result of the first third of the century was the pushing of the frontier westward one thousand miles, the transferring of wide stretches of prairie and rolling lands from the wild tribes of Wyandot and Sioux in the Northwest and from Creeks and Cherokees in the South to the improving control of the white man, the floating of steamboats on western rivers, the beginnings of the railroad,—those going toward Mississippi River having the most significance,—the cutting of canal routes which were to unite farm and factory. All these evidences of progress and a myriad other incidents of internal improvement mark an increasing interest on the part of the common man in the affairs of government, and the efforts of the people to adjust the relations between the States and the nation.

The movement by which the boundaries of the nation were pushed to the westward can be seen in the way in which new names crept into the familiar speech of the people. In 1800 the Ohio stood for the far West, in 1810 it was the Mississippi, in 1820 the Missouri, while in 1830 the Red and the Arkansas marked the westward limits of the habitable portion of the territory of the United States. The overflow was tending to the Rocky Mountains. The national government had steadily fostered the interests of the immigrant in the matter of the purchase of lands from the public domain. In the period from the beginning



Two early views of Richmond. *From originals in possession of the Virginia Historical Society.*

of its political existence to the time of the Missouri Compromise the price of the public lands was reduced from two dollars an acre to one and a quarter, and might be bought in so small a quantity as eighty acres by one person. Thus small holdings at low cost with deed in fee from the government became the key to the political problem. Each freeholder developed into a patriot.

The ratio of progress as compared with that of two centuries earlier in the East was pithily stated by Governor Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, in the late thirties: "Such was the difficulty of crossing the pathless wilderness which lay between them (the first settlers of his State) and the coast, that a man may now go from Boston to New Orleans by way of Pittsburg, a distance of more than two thousand five hundred miles, in about as many days as it took the first settlers to reach the banks of the Connecticut River." In 1836, travellers could go from Concord, the capital of New Hampshire, to Philadelphia, all the way by rail and steamboat in less than forty-eight hours. Jackson's second administration witnessed the rapid extension of the railroad. In 1835, the number of post offices was over ten thousand, and the post routes covered over one hundred thousand miles.

That the participants in all this forward movement should have been charged with a spirit of boastfulness is not to be marvelled at. It would be strange, indeed, if they could have remained stoic and impassive witnesses of what was going on day after day with ever-increasing momentum. The swift stages of improvement were set forth in picturesque fashion by a "young son of the West," in the *Cincinnati Register* of 1833. The world in the West was moving rapidly when one person could have seen what he describes so enthusiastically: "I have seen the time when the only boat that floated on the surface of the Ohio was a canoe. . . . I have seen the day when the introduction of the keelboat with a shingle roof was hailed as a mighty improvement in the business of the West. . . . I

remember the day when the arrival of a Canadian barge was an important event in the transactions of a year. . . . I remember the day when a passage of four months from Natchez to Pittsburg was called a speedy trip for the best craft on the river. . . . I remember the day when the canoe of a white man dared not be launched on the bosom of the Alleghany. . . . I have lived to see the day when a visit to New Orleans from Cincinnati requires no more preparation than a visit to a neighboring country town. . . . I have lived to see vessels of three hundred tons arriving in twelve or fifteen days from New Orleans to Cincinnati." The charm of the West was unique. It is not to be marvelled at that Niles could speak of Colonel Daniel Boone, in 1816, when eighty-five years old, as still pushing on and out to Platte River, saying of the vigorous old hunter: "He prefers the woods." Boone was not alone in this desire for the new world on the west bank of the mighty river. Bristed wrote in 1817: "Indeed all America appears to be moving to the West." In this year nearly twenty thousand wagons, averaging forty hundredweight each, went West from Baltimore and Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and thence toward the setting sun. Mr. Birkbeck, quoted by Bristed, noted that the lands lying west of the Alleghanies took on the character of the people who were filling them up: "On the great route to the Ohio one meets with the light wagon going to the land of promise, with its sheet for covering, containing bedding, provisions, utensils, children, and followed by a cow. The traveller could tell the New England pilgrims with the quick, light step of the women walking in front of the wagon. The New Jersey wanderers housed under the tilt of the wagon; the Pennsylvania emigrants creep loitering behind."

The tendency to degenerate was strong in many cases, for life was hard. The flatboatmen on the western rivers were proverbially rough, "ferocious, and profligate," as a contemporary called them. The picture of a fight between a Virginian and a Kentuckian, near Wheeling, will give the

curious reader a vivid insight into the life out of doors on the banks of the "beautiful river." In the struggle the Kentuckian surrendered only after losing an eye, the end of his nose, and a part of his ear. There was a fierce individualism abroad in the land. Yet dangers, roughness, discomforts, and incivilities gave way before the amenities of progress.

Men of high culture shared in the perils of the movement. Stephen Harriman Long, a graduate of Dartmouth College, was given charge of the explorations between Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, from 1818 to 1823, and the year following of the efforts to discover the sources of the great river. The highest summit of the Rocky Mountains bears his name. François André Michaux, the son of the famous French botanist, André Michaux, found a lasting attraction in America. Its forests gave him the opportunity to publish, between 1810 and 1813, the first full treatment of the trees of North America. In 1802, in the discharge of a duty laid upon him by the minister of the interior, he had travelled extensively in the Ohio valley.

The violence and rudeness which travellers, disgruntled by the unpalatable victuals of frontier inns, delighted to publish in their journals gradually disappeared with the settling of the country. The children of the hunter immigrants drank in the refinements of life in another decade or two with avidity. The ruder frontier line passed the river and neared the mountains in the western half of the continent.

Though the war had left its burden of debt, the nation was not long in clearing it away. By 1833 the debt amounted to seven million, the next year to four, and by 1835 the government was debtor to the sum of a little over thirty-seven thousand dollars. A nation so soon out of debt and accumulating a troublesome surplus was a spectacle to the world. It could afford to be, for a while, a trifle unkempt.

A comparison with the budgets of Great Britain and France shows that in 1828 Britain paid in interest on her

debt alone six times the total amount of the debt of the United States, while France paid about twice as much as the American debt in interest alone. Besides this, Britain paid for redemption of her total indebtedness three million more than the debt of the United States, and France a trifle less than the said debt. The amount owed by the general government of the United States was less than twenty-three million dollars. One must consider the populations of the three nations to get the full force of the comparison. Great Britain contained twenty-one million people, France thirty million, the United States twelve million, the latter, in the main, living at the top of energetic use of their powers. A people whose mechanical ingenuity had lessened hard toil one-half and increased its productive ability many fold was more than likely to lift high head among the nations of the earth.

A chief agent in this amazing progress was the steam-boat. A small skiff was the first vessel to be moved by steam in the United States, and probably in the world. John Fitch, a watchmaker and a gunsmith at Valley Forge, conceived the idea, April 15, 1785, of steam power for carriages and then for vessels. His first experiments were made in July, 1786. His second boat made a trial trip on the Delaware, at Philadelphia, August 22, 1787. The craft had an engine with a three-inch cylinder, which operated an endless chain having paddles fixed upon it and acting on the side of the boat. But this did not work satisfactorily. On the 27th of the same month, the skiff was propelled seven miles an hour by the employment of oars moved by cranks and beams. There were twelve oars on each side. As the three sets in the rear of the boat dipped, the three sets in the fore of the boat were raised from the water. This experiment was made in the presence of a large number of the members of the Convention at work upon the Constitution. Fitch made other boats, one of which attained a speed of eight miles an hour. In 1796 he built a yawl with a screw propeller at the stern. In 1804, Oliver Evans

propelled a scow by steam on Schuylkill River. The earliest ascertained experiments of Robert Fulton in steam navigation were made about the year 1798. Fulton built his first experimental boat at Paris in 1803, and twenty-one years after Fitch's initial trial, he launched his first American steamboat on the Hudson in the spring of 1807. This was the twelfth boat to be driven by steam. Fulton was not an inventor of the class of either Fitch or Evans, but was a successful adapter of the ideas of others. His first boat was named after "Clermont," the country seat of his friend, Chancellor Livingston. Yet the inventor did not think that the application of steam to the purposes of navigation was to be so useful to the United States as his invention of the torpedo, with which he confidently trusted to make his country impregnable against every foreign foe. Fulton also succeeded with his "plunging boat" in 1801 at Brest, France, and with his submarine bomb he blew up a small British vessel in the harbor. The needs of maritime warfare led to the launching of the *Demologos*, October 29, 1814, designed by Fulton, but too late to be of any service. This was the first steam man-of-war ever built. She blew up in 1829. Fulton's fame has outrun that of either Evans or Fitch. The last named died in 1798, heartbroken over his failures, and with feelings divided, as his journal says, between "a turbulent wife and steamboat building," and was buried, as he had requested, not far from the shores of Ohio River, where he "hoped the song of the boatmen would enliven the stillness of his resting place, and the music of the steam engine soothe his spirit." He lies in the village graveyard of Bardstown, Kentucky.

No slight mention of the Mississippi steamboat during this period would be a fair statement of the most influential agency in the advancement of the great valley. Beyond all others, possibly, it contributed in the third and succeeding decades to connect the manufacturing and the agricultural sections of the land. No other part of the world is so blessed with such a system of waterways as that which is

washed by the great river and its tributaries. Nature, prodigal to the last degree, and human skill and energy aroused to the highest pitch, united to develop the riches which the new continent was quick to bestow on those worthy of ownership.

Whether the steamboat could be used on the Mississippi as it had been on the Hudson was a problem which engaged the attention of an enterprising citizen of New York, Nicholas Roosevelt. In 1811, in connection with Fulton and Livingston, he laid the keel of the *New Orleans* at Pittsburg, on the Alleghany side, close by the creek, under a bluff called Boyd's Hill. Roosevelt believed in the West and in its future. He had gone down the river in 1809, studying its current, depths, and wooded banks, and had convinced himself that a steamboat could make the voyage. He and his wife, who had not lacked warnings against the perils of the voyage, became the only passengers on the new steamer. The crew was a small one. It was a momentous journey, and changed the destiny of the great waterway. Incredulity and rough river wit were mixed with hospitable greetings from the astonished people at points on the rivers, first the Ohio and then the Mississippi. The *New Orleans* was one hundred and sixteen feet long, with a twenty-foot beam. Her cost was a little less than forty thousand dollars. She was a stern-wheeler and had two masts, for Fulton believed that the occasional use of sails would be indispensable. The *New Orleans* reached the city whose name she bore on January 12, 1812, and was used for trips to Natchez from New Orleans until she suffered shipwreck near Baton Rouge on her upward-bound voyage in July, 1814.

The second boat to be built was the *Comet*, of twenty-five tons, which made a voyage to Louisville in 1813, and to New Orleans in the spring of 1814. The *Vesuvius* was the third boat, a much larger vessel, the fourth the *Enterprise*, the fifth the *Ætna*. Within the nine years following the arrival of the first steam-driven boat, the wharf register

at New Orleans recorded the arrival of eighty-two steamboats. The first great transportation monopoly was that of Fulton and Livingston, who secured a patent for controlling the Eastern waters after the trial of the *Clermont*, and now added to their former triumph the control of the Western waters with the steamboat. But not for long. The courts decided against the right in the East, and through the work of Captain H. M. Shreve, a notable character among the steamboat men of the early days, who resisted the monopoly, the privilege of the new invention was extended to all who could command the capital to take advantage of it.

The share of American genius in the movement that substituted steam for sails in ocean traffic was shown in the *Savannah*, three hundred and eighty tons, which was launched at Corlear's Hook, New York, August 22, 1818. She was built to ply between New York and Savannah as a sailing packet. But she was purchased by Savannah merchants and fitted up with steam machinery. Her paddle wheels were so made that they might be folded when not in use. She left Savannah May 26, 1819, and reached Liverpool in twenty-five days, using steam eighteen days. But not until 1837, in which year the *Great Western* raced with the *Sirius* from England to America, was the ocean crossed by a vessel depending wholly upon steam.

The old days did not at once disappear. The barge was slow, but it was cheap, and it was easy to drop down with the current, and afterward break up the rough boat at New Orleans. But the new power was fast winning its way. There came a gradual disuse of the various forms of river craft. The old-fashioned ponderous barge which required twenty-five hands to work it upstream; the keelboat, long, slender, graceful, holding from fifteen to twenty-five tons; the ark-like "broadhorn," fifteen feet wide and from forty to one hundred feet long, carrying from twenty to seventy tons, some of them too, family boats, with cattle and fowls; and the "pirogues," hollowed out from a huge tree trunk,

or two united, now became only reminders of the earlier and rougher methods of travel.

The traveller of the times had to make the best of the common discomfort. Apart from the snug canal boat or the swifter steamer, there was little comfort anywhere to rejoice over. In 1832, Fanny Kemble, the actress toured the country with mingled delight and disgust. Her words "bones of me! what a road!", the "bumping, thumping, jumping, jolting, shaking, tossing, and tumbling over the wickedest road," contrast with the praise of the more commodious steamboat or the slow canal boat, and the "exquisite effects of light and color" in the Mohawk valley, and the glories of mountain view in the Alleghanies. The inns were not inviting; usually, there were several beds in one room, and sometimes several guests were expected to occupy one bed; the public tables were not neat, nor the food served to suit a delicate taste, save in the larger hotels of the principal cities, some of which had a fame all their own.

The lively sketch of a trip by Mr. Sargent, in 1824, from New York to Washington pictures one of the best routes, mainly by stage. After the steamboat dropped the passengers at New Brunswick the stage was filled by them. Nine stages drawn by four splendid horses each pulled out of the town with much stir, each stage carrying nine passengers inside and two more sitting up with the driver. The allowance of baggage to each was a trunk or valise, besides a bandbox for ladies, a pest to the gentlemen when the ladies insisted on carrying them inside. When the road lay thick with dust the luck of the last load of passengers was not to be envied. At Trenton or Bristol a transfer was made to boat for Philadelphia, the passengers dining on the boat. The fare from New York to Philadelphia was two dollars and a half. After a night's rest the company pushed on to Baltimore, going by boat to New Castle, by stages to Frenchtown at the head of the bay, and then by boat to Baltimore. The fare from Philadelphia to Baltimore was

six dollars. Next morning they took stage and reached Washington by four o'clock, paying four more dollars for the last bit of travel. Under ill conditions of winter it often required two days and a night in going from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

Capital found in the steamboat a great opportunity for investment. Cincinnati alone invested in 1826 more than five hundred thousand dollars. St. Louis took on new life and became the centre of marvellous commercial activity. Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio was aided by nature in the fact that an obstacle to safe passage for vessels of heavy draft demanded a canal through which at low water all boats were compelled to pass, to the profit of the city. New Orleans, of course, became the recipient of vast wealth dropped at her doors almost without the asking. The score of barges in 1817 with a capacity of one hundred tons each and making one trip a year from the upper Ohio to the lower Mississippi gave way near the close of the period to about two hundred and fifty steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of thirty-nine thousand tons. The capital invested in 1834 amounted to more than three million dollars. The total yearly expenses overran four and a half million dollars. No speedier revolution was ever achieved in the industrial history of a nation, achieved too, without aid from the government, aside from some appropriations in the promotion of such an enterprise as the canal at the Falls of the Ohio.

The opening of the Erie Canal was the cause of vast profit to the population, both East and West. Thirty days and five dollars for one hundred pounds of freight carried from Philadelphia to Columbus, Ohio, were now, by the new route, reduced to twenty days and half the cost. Markets widened and prices lowered, while a prosperous people multiplied their comforts of life. A craze for canals marked the popular ambition for securing an outlet for the products of farm and factory. Plans were made for connecting Boston with Connecticut River and Long Island Sound with Montreal. Massachusetts became alarmed as it saw

a possible diversion of its trade to New York. Philadelphia was in much the same condition as Boston. Pittsburg, already the manufacturer of goods with which it filled boats that it had built to send to the mouth of the Mississippi, was a dangerous rival. A short route to Ohio River was needed, both for Philadelphia and Baltimore.

The relative merits of canal and railroad had been matter for discussion as far back as 1812. A primitive railway three-quarters of a mile in length had been laid by Thomas Leiper, in 1809, from his quarry at Crum Creek to his landing on Delaware Creek in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. This railroad remained in active use until 1828, when it was superseded by a canal. The blockade of the seaboard during the War of 1812 and the development of a large inland carrying trade compelled attention to the method of transportation proposed by John Stevens, of Hoboken. He secured, in 1815, a charter for the first public railroad in the New World. The first rails were strips of wood laid on cross ties of either wood or stone. The wooden strips soon gave way to thin ribbons of iron. In 1827, a railway was opened in Massachusetts for connecting the quarries of Quincy with Neponset River, three miles distant. Upon it was used a flat rail laid on longitudinal sills, which were first made of wood, then of stone. The road inclined twenty-seven feet to the mile, and was worked by horses. In the same year loaded cars were sent down hill at Mauch Chunk and were drawn back by mules. By 1828, John Stevens had proved that a locomotive could pull a train of cars round a curve.

The new epoch in transportation came with 1827. For though horse power did not at once give way to steam traction, the prophecy of Oliver Evans, the first American to apply steam power to land vehicles, was near to fulfilment, and people and goods were to be transported over the country on iron rails in carriages drawn by the power of steam. When, in 1814, George Stephenson, in England applied the blast pipe in the chimney so as to use the exhaust

steam to intensify the draft, he achieved the first truly modern locomotive. In 1825, he drew freight and passengers over the Stockton and Darlington Railroad at the rate of six miles an hour, using successfully his steam blast. When, in 1829, on that memorable day, the 6th of October, in the presence of ten thousand spectators, his *Rocket* averaged fifteen miles with a maximum of twenty-nine miles an hour, and he won the prize of five hundred pounds against four competitors with his little four-ton engine, a new impetus was given to travel.

America was to be the field of the greatest triumphs of the locomotive. In 1827, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was chartered with the purpose of connecting the city with Ohio River. It was begun the 4th of July, 1828. Its cornerstone was laid by the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He spoke like a seer, as he said to a friend: "I consider this among the most important acts of my life, second only to my signing the Declaration of Independence, if even it be second to that." The line was surveyed by Major S. H. Long, the famous Western explorer, who a few years later constructed a new truss bridge, which is known by his name. Up to 1831 all trains were pulled by horse power. The line to Wheeling was not finished till 1853. But the days of the rough road and the slow canal were ended so far as supremacy was concerned. There is reason for believing that South Carolina had the first definite plan for operating a railway with steam power. On the 15th of January, 1831, four months after the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railroad, when Stephenson won his great triumph over a long stretch of track, was celebrated the first anniversary of the South Carolina Railway. The name of the locomotive was *Best Friend*. It soon came to grief, along with its fireman, a negro, who was making an effort to check the escape of steam by sitting on the safety valve lever. On August 30, 1831, in a trial between a horse and a locomotive on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the quadruped was left behind.

The engine used was of one-horse power and was built by Peter Cooper. A railroad mania now set in. By March, 1834, the first locomotive in Massachusetts was set in motion. It is worthy of mention that the same year there issued from the printing press the first volume of Bancroft's *History of the United States*. Before the final volume was issued, the railroad had outrun in the number of miles laid the total number of all his pages. By 1835, there were sixteen hundred miles of completed track besides more than twelve hundred miles unfinished. As if to show that the canal had not lost its support in popular favor, there were at the same time two thousand six hundred miles of such waterways finished and five hundred more in process of construction.

Ordinary predictions fell short. Even wise men were blind to the rush of events. When the Erie Canal was proposed in New York by Clinton, Jefferson was asked his opinion of the effort. "'Tis a noble project," wrote Jefferson, "but you are a century too soon." A few years slipped by, and again Clinton asked: "What do you think of it now?" Jefferson answered: "I perceive that in regard to your resources and energies I committed an error of one century in my calculation." The comment of the newspaper editor upon this correspondence illustrates the new spirit of the day: "Forward! is the motto of almost every educated American, high or low, rich or poor—forward, always forward!"

No comment could carry more weight than the statement of the clear-headed historian, Alexander Johnston: "No similar period in American history is so extraordinary for material development as the decade 1830-1840. At its beginning the country was an overgrown type of colonial life; at its end American life had been shifted to entirely new lines, which it has since followed. Modern American history had burst in with the explosiveness of an Arctic summer."

The activity of American genius is to us of a later day so well accredited by the manifold achievements of the

present time that it is difficult to give sufficient weight to the amount and quality of the improvements made in the first third of the nineteenth century. Even in the shadows of war inventive skill slept not. Niles calls attention to the number of patents issued in the year 1812, and remarks upon the "constant prying curiosity and active genius of our countrymen." To compass ways and means for the fullest dominion of man over the expanding continental possessions was the ambition of the most enterprising folk on the face of the earth.

What Bristed, in speaking of the conduct of the war of 1812, styles a "spectacle of nerveless impotence" soon became one of utmost energy and variety of effort and amazing success. The future was waiting for the American. Every test of the present he satisfied. This fact so impressed the critical but appreciative Englishman that he wrote at the close of the same war: "It is meant to assert, because it can be proved, that the United States, from their territorial extent, their local situation, their political institutions, their peculiar circumstances, *do* produce a greater amount of physical, intellectual, and moral enterprise and force in the great mass of their people than is or can be produced in the aggregate population of any other country." We now take for granted the steady push of industrial power after the momentum of a century of dreams and a thousand inventions, a succession of efforts to make allies out of nature without a parallel in human history; but we should not forget that the pace was set early in the nineteenth century. Philosophers like Franklin and teachers like Dr. Eliphalet Nott bent every energy to lessen the hardness of human toil, to secure an increase of human comforts, and to multiply the power of man.

Genius was not lacking in the final days of the old century, but its most splendid triumphs were to signalize the new century, and with increasing emphasis as each decade gave way to its successor. No period in history can show such contagious eagerness to gain mastery of the

secrets of power. Pittsburg had no foundry at the opening of the century. Ohio had no iron bar laid on a village anvil, except it had been brought over the mountains. When the iron industry came near to a collapse in 1820, the total annual output of pig iron did not exceed twenty thousand gross tons. In 1828, the hot-air blast used in smelting iron produced a revolution in iron manufacture. In 1832, the amount was two hundred thousand tons. Anthracite coal had been discovered in 1791 by a hunter on Lehigh River, a "find" hardly second to that of gold by Marshall in California a half-century later. Premature attempts at mining and marketing the "stone coal" compose a story of discouragements until 1817, when Colonel George Shoemaker sent some coal from Pottsville to Philadelphia. But he had to beat a hasty retreat to escape writs issued for his arrest by indignant purchasers. They did not know how to ignite the coal. Disheartened workmen in the Fairmount nail works shut the furnace door after half a day spent in vain experiments to start a fire. On their return from dinner they saw the door red hot from the intense heat within. The secret was discovered. The use of anthracite coal in the subjection of iron ores did not begin until William Lyon, in 1837, at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, won a prize of five thousand dollars for making pig iron with anthracite continuously for one hundred days. Nail making by machinery was begun in America. The genius of the Yankee released the hands of women and children from the task of pounding out nails in wearisome, slow succession. Various patents had been issued for devices for producing nails by machinery, but not until the nineteenth century did success greet the inventor. Edward West, in 1802, at Lexington, Kentucky, received a patent for a nail-cutting machine which Michaux, the traveller, said would cut in twelve hours over five thousand pounds of nails. Soon afterward, Lexington exported nails as far east as Pittsburg. In the East, Jacob Perkins and Jeremiah Wilkinson improved nail-cutting machines.

By 1828, the price of nails was reduced to eight cents per pound.

The ancients had their sundial and hourglass. Alfred the Great had candles so made as to burn an hour apiece. The pendulum was put to use in the middle of the seventeenth century. American clockmaking began with Eli Terry, who whittled his clock wheels, at Plymouth, with a jack-knife. By 1810, competition had reduced the price of clocks from twenty-five dollars to less than ten. In 1814, Terry put out a new pattern of a small mantel clock which netted him a fortune. In 1821, Chauncey Jerome began the manufacture of brass clocks, which had no rival for accuracy and cheapness.

The American home early profited from the skill of American inventors. Franklin, and Benjamin Thompson, afterward Count Rumford, gave much attention to improving stoves, and in 1835 J. S. Mott built the first cast-iron stove. The talented president of Union College, Dr. Nott, spent time and money in attempts to perfect the base-burner and other stoves. The first axe shop was started by the Collins brothers at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1826. The year previous, Eliphalet Remington laid the foundations at Ilion, New York, of what has become one of the largest factories in the Union, and whose products, firearms, typewriters, and kindred fruits of skilled labor, find markets all over the world. In 1814 König, in England, set up for the *Times* the original cylinder printing press to be run by steam. Robert Hoe introduced this style in America, and vastly improved it, so that the *Times* adopted a Hoe press.

No trifles have so contributed to human comfort as the friction match and the shoe peg. The friction match was first used in 1829, and the phosphorus match in 1836. The wooden peg of Joseph Walker, of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, was a revolutionary agent. It came into use in 1818. When the *Mayflower*, on her third trip in 1629, brought the first shoemaker to our shores, he was sufficiently important to have his "dyet and houseroom at the charge of the company," and fifty acres of land. Shoemaking is

one of the most distinctively American industries. Up to the time of the fire of 1836 in the Patent Office, there had been granted one hundred and four separate patents for processes in shoemaking.

The range of genius was wide. In the building of suspension bridges the American was first in the field, and by 1810 he had erected as many as eight. Pennsylvania led not only the United States but the world in boldness of design. The Wearmouth Bridge, in England, had the longest arch in all Europe, a span of two hundred and thirty-six feet; in Pennsylvania there were three bridges with spans of far greater length. In no other field has American ingenuity won finer triumphs than in the fashioning of machinery for working iron. Lathes, shears, dies, cranes, planes, drills, and like machines in infinite variety, attest the mastery of mind over matter. The challenge lay all about the inventor. To tell where iron ores are not would be less difficult than to say where they are. The vast magnetic-iron range lifts its head in Maine and goes south to terminate in the Gulf of Mexico. The Mississippi valley is a continental garden surrounded by iron walls. Immense deposits fill the Lake Superior region. From Oregon to Mexico mountains of iron look down upon the fruitful valley. Both for peace and war it furnishes tools for progress. The rifle was the favorite gun of the American hunter; but it was not adopted by the government for the army. The smoothbore was the weapon of Europe also. Napoleon scoffed at the twist of the western rifle as hindering rapid loading until he heard of the awful execution done at the battle of New Orleans, and then he asked that two of them be sent him for examination. It was too late, for Waterloo was close at hand.

In 1813, Hall proposed to load at the breech. He also invented a new "interchangeable" system of manufacturing parts of the gun by which the cost of making was greatly reduced. Yet the army went into Mexico armed mainly with the old smoothbores and flintlocks. A few mounted

men carried Hall's breech-loading carbines. The percussion cap was invented by Shaw, of Bordentown, in 1817. The six-barrelled revolver was contrived by Samuel Colt, a seaman, while on a voyage to Calcutta in 1829.

In the field of agriculture, American inventors have from the first striven successfully. The first cast-iron plow was imported soon after the Revolution. Jefferson's interest in the perfection of this indispensable tool was unceasing. It remained for Jethro Wood, of Scipio, New York, in 1819, to lock the various parts of the plow together by lugs, thus doing away with screw bolts and making it far less cumbersome than any other. The application of steam power to plows was first attempted by E. C. Bellinger, of South Carolina, in 1833. But its use was very limited. The preëminence of American mowers and reapers has been acknowledged ever since the English Exposition of 1851. The first mower in America was the invention of a shrewd mechanic of Genoa, New York, about 1826. Power was derived from a heavy drive wheel. The peculiar feature was a revolving horizontal wheel not far above the soil and provided with knives on its rim. The machine never came to perfection. Another reaper was invented by Samuel Lane, of Maine, in 1828. The first real success was achieved by Hussey, of Maryland. He did away with the knife-rimmed wheel, and used reciprocating knives slipping past slotted fingers, and added the hinged cutter bar, so that it could be lifted at right angles from the ground. In 1834, McCormick followed this with a combined reaper and mower.

Another field in which the versatile talent of the American displayed its powers was that of electro-magnetism. Davenport, a blacksmith, of Brandon, Vermont, was the first American to apply the electro-magnet to motive power. In 1834, he devised an electro-magnetic engine and the year after got a patent for the practical illustration of a principle which however waited long years before its immense worth was fully realized. In 1828, that prince of American

scientists, Joseph Henry, began his researches in the mysterious realm of electro-magnetism, and by 1831 exhibited a magnet, excited by a current, which supported a weight of over two thousand pounds. The invention of S. F. B. Morse depended upon that of Henry. While on a voyage home from Europe on the ship *Sully*, in 1832, Morse, who was endowed with an alert and vigorous intellect, suddenly saw through the method of breaking the current of electricity and of translating the breaks into the alphabet, and so of sending messages from long distances. He evolved, almost at a sitting, the plan of transmission which has not been materially changed since.

Whether indoors or out, American skill was destined to lessen the labors of the household. The first American sewing machine was built by Rev. John Adams Dodge, of Monkton, Vermont, who made, in 1818, a practical machine for sewing the back stitch. The needle was pointed at both ends, the eye being placed in the middle. It was not patented, and was soon abandoned. In 1832, Walter Hunt, of New York, invented one which for the first time carried two threads. Elias Howe achieved, in later years, what these men had dreamed of, but had not done, not because he was a more brilliant genius, but because his unyielding purpose held the goal ever in view.

In no other realm of industry was the practical ability of the American to attain such eminence as in the work of spinning and weaving. In 1809, were planted the Oriskany Woollen Mills in New York, the pioneers of their kind. After 1816, a rapid increase took place in the number of fulling mills and woollen factories. A lull followed in the year 1819, to be followed by a steady advance, especially in the Northern States. Gallatin's report of 1810 had given the number of cotton factories as eighty-seven. All these were for spinning. Samuel Slater had brought from England a knowledge of the latest inventions for spinning, and had put up, ten years before the close of the previous century, a set of machines made from his memory of the

method Arkwright was using in cotton spinning. Francis C. Lowell, of Boston, went to work with his brother-in-law to devise a power loom, and in 1813 built a small mill at Waltham. Within the next generation, nine-tenths of the new factories were erected in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. In 1831, of the seven hundred and ninety-five cotton mills in the Union, Massachusetts had two hundred and fifty, Rhode Island one hundred and sixteen, New York one hundred and twelve, Connecticut ninety-four, Pennsylvania sixty-seven, New Jersey fifty-one, Maryland twenty-three, Delaware ten, and Virginia seven. The further South one went the fewer mills, and the more effort was given to raising the raw material for northern and foreign markets.

At the time of Jackson's first inauguration the South easily led in the matter of exports. In 1829, the total value of exports from the United States was fifty-five million seven hundred thousand one hundred and ninety-three dollars. In the three items of cotton, tobacco and rice, the South contributed thirty-four million seventy-two thousand six hundred and fifty-five dollars. In purely agricultural exports, the share of the South was plainly ahead of all other sections of the country, furnishing three-fourths of the whole sum, which was about forty-four million dollars. Manufacturers exported only about six million dollars. Of the States in the South, South Carolina could fairly speak for the rest, for its exports in the year named amounted to over eight million dollars, less only than those of New York, Louisiana, and Massachusetts. Out of this there grew naturally two feelings, a sense of dependence on foreign consumers, and a reasonable objection to the high tariff of the year 1828. But in neither of these sentiments could there be found any hope for the future economic prosperity of the South, beyond what might have been discovered a decade earlier.

The race was not to be with the South, strong though she had been at the start. As it was now the policy of the

general government to let all the new developments in facilitating intercourse take care of themselves, it fell to the several States and sections to assume the burden of cost entailed by the ambition to secure the most direct and profitable routes. The great majority of these routes ran from the East to the West. Capital derived from the increase of inventional energy in the North and the planting of factories all the way from the Merrimac to the Ohio grew independent of national aid. As the canal and the steamboat, and a little later, the railroad, did their part to connect the producers and the consumers, the field of their great service appeared in the North and the West. In the matter of manufacturing the South fell behind. She was giving all her energies to the extension of her cotton fields. Her system of slave labor was both expensive and narrowing. The versatility of the free laborer in other States was not found among the toilers in the Southern cotton fields.

Manual labor was only for the negro. Calhoun said to Quincy that he could not afford to employ white labor about him. His associates were too fixed in their sentiments to allow him to make the experiment. Naturally there was much restlessness among the poorer whites. Within the limits of three months in 1829, according to Niles, there flowed through Charleston, Virginia, eight thousand emigrants on their way to Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The dawn of the vast growth in the Northwest had no cheering rays for the economic life of the South. The system of slavery demanded large tracts of land, which all too soon became exhausted under the methods employed. Internal commerce based on the products of spindle, loom and forge was not the good fortune of the South. The enthusiasm of Charleston merchants over the prospects of railroad communication with other points could not have the same fruitage as the like spirit in Baltimore or New York. Calhoun advocated a railroad from Charleston westward, for the meeting of ship and car. But Baltimore and Philadelphia had western lines before Charleston,

Savannah, or Mobile. Great trade routes were not in the South but in the North. Great cities, marts of traffic, centres of varied industries, and of stirring and busy populations were founded on these routes. In contrast with all this the production of the South was being limited to a few staples, immensely remunerative to a few leaders, and methods of production were annually becoming fixed.

The South remained practically unchanged in the five decades after 1810. Minerals and waterfalls were passed by in the concentration of every energy to produce limitless cotton. The abolition of the foreign slave trade impressed upon the labor system of the South the last modification of form of which it seemed susceptible. The supply of laborers was cut off. Demand pressed on ahead of supply. A considerable portion of the population was too rapidly transported from place to place by new agencies, and there followed a premature distribution of people over too large an area. There was less diversity of labor. In the North labor sought new occupations, in the South new and richer soils. The South could mobilize her labor population swiftly. The North diversified her industries. In the South outside the few towns there were no artisans, no trades.

It is true that by her exports of cotton and tobacco, the South filled her coffers. In 1828, in New Orleans, the immense amount, for those days, of three hundred thousand bales of cotton lay on her wharves for export. But of cotton factories the South knew little. South Carolina possessed, in 1829, only two. The growing tendency to concentrate economic power in the hands of the few had its effect in deadening public spirit. While Georgia spent in the thirteen years before 1830 the sum of three hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred dollars for internal improvement, then dropped the annual expenditure, and by act of legislature abolished the office of civil engineer, Pennsylvania for the same purpose spent for the year ending November, 1828, two million six hundred and eleven thousand dollars. A Southern editor commenting on the

greater increase of population in the free States and their marvellous prosperity, gave the following reasons for the difference: the increase of manufacturing establishments, offering inducements to free intelligent labor; the immense increase of internal trade, because of canals, roads, and improvements in river navigation; some increase in foreign trade, and a very great increase in the coasting trade. He noted as checks to population in the South; free labor without honor; education of the poor neglected; desire to excel not stimulated; manufacturing establishments not encouraged; merchant class degraded to the exaltation of the planter class; and little spirit of internal improvement. He charged the South with being half awake, and declared that cotton was monopolizing the thought of the planters. The decade closing with 1810 saw a tenfold increase in the production of cotton, and during the next thirty years an increase of fourteen-fold.

Influences were at work which were to estrange the North and the South. Some of these were based upon a misinterpretation of each other's economic life. The South discovered, as she thought, a widespread contest between property and poverty in the North, while the North believed that the system of labor common in the South engendered universal brutality on the part of owners of slaves, and a disposition on the part of the slaves to constant revolt; neither of which judgments was just.

Two pictures illustrate the contrast which travellers in both sections were fond of dwelling upon, especially when disposed to look upon the brighter side of life. In 1822 the first mill was erected at Lowell, and in fourteen years there were twenty-seven in busy operation. Cotton stuffs, carpets, and cloths ran out in thousands of miles annually. The Bigelow carpet loom was invented, and revolutionized the trade in coverings for floors. Lowell was then a model town of the pattern new to the industrial world. The majority of the mill workers were the daughters of New England farmers, bright, healthy, and of exemplary moral

characters. They published a magazine, filling its columns with original essays and poems. In this town, women made their first stand as a body in the industrial world, in pursuits quite foreign to the secluded life of their homes. They gave to Jackson a most unique welcome in 1833 on his tour through New England, when a mile of factory girls dressed in white, with sashes of various hues, and with parasols over their heads, marched past the president in a brilliant procession. The Old World had no such spectacle. Honor was not meanly allied to the factory, but, instead, lifted manual toil from its degradation.

On the other hand, there is found in the *Memoirs of a Southern Planter* an engaging picture of the patriarchal concern of the Dabneys for the welfare of their slaves, with its noble dignity of the master and the simple-hearted devotion of the slave. It is a portrayal of plantation life at its best, yet sufficiently common through the South to be made a matter of boast on the part of the defenders of the system of labor thought best adapted for the agriculture of the Southern States. Though the system needed constant apologies and defence, it was not without some relief. The blacks suffered, not so much from anything like constant brutality as from the lack of opportunities to rise in the scale of intelligence and responsibility. The system doomed them to submergence.

In the third decade are to be noted two contrasted theories of labor life. After 1825, the men and women workers in the North began to organize for their relief from some of the harder features of factory toil which they had inherited from a slowly changing past. An energetic labor movement in August, 1828, pushed its way into Philadelphia politics, and its adherents pledged themselves to support no candidate who would not further the interests of the working classes. The year following, in the Virginia Constitutional Convention, Benjamin W. Leigh uttered what another Southerner called "extraordinary opinions." In discussing suffrage rights he included the "peasantry" of the West in

the class with the slaves of the South, and said: "I ask gentlemen to say, whether they believe that those who are obliged to depend on their daily labor for daily subsistence, can ever enter into political affairs? They never do, never will, never can. . . . What share can the peasantry of the West ever take in the affairs of state?" He failed to remember that Roger Sherman was, to say the least, as influential in the famous Congress that declared Independence as Charles Carroll, the landholder with a long lineage. Because of the speech Leigh was burned in effigy in the public square of Harrisonburg.

It is the very section the orator referred to that now engages the reader's attention. All the way from Maryland to Missouri the rising tides of life were sweeping with resistless force. The Erie Canal was a tremendous success. It was no uncommon sight to see fifty boats a day start from Albany bound for the West. In 1826, nineteen thousand boats and rafts passed West Troy on the Erie and Champlain Canals. The south shore of Lake Erie swarmed with settlers. Ohio became possessed with a mania for canals. The Lake and Ohio River were joined. The coming of railroads was looked for with intensest eagerness. What the States could not hope for in the way of aid from the government owing to the veto of Monroe, was more than accomplished by the independent efforts of rising commonwealths. Life was fast becoming easier in the new settlements. Floating shops dotted the Ohio. The National Road was being pushed through Ohio toward the further west. In his last hours as president, Monroe yielded so much as to favor an Act extending the great Cumberland turnpike to Zanesville, and providing for a survey for its extension to the capital of Missouri. But the railroad caught up with it, and it halted at Indianapolis in a short while. The reduction of the price of land in the new States, due largely to the efforts of Senator Benton, paved the way for increased immigration. The country was largely agricultural, but centres of manufacturing and trade were springing up

as the immense population swarmed about favorable sites. Cincinnati was the "Queen" of the West. Pittsburg, Buffalo, and Detroit were to become less famous than that city, Chicago, on whose site, in 1820, there was no population, but which in 1840 numbered five thousand, and whose charter of incorporation is dated March 4, 1837. The site of this typical American city is a flat prairie, but the energy of its inhabitants and the vast productive area of the Upper Mississippi, the combination of land and water service, and the fact that it has been the seat of the greatest break of trade routes on earth, its location, in fact, in the centre of a continent, all combined to promote its swift expansion.

The wonderful growth of the West was the basis of no small jealousy on the part of the East of the new political power which bulked so large in the Mississippi valley that it already threatened to eclipse the original centre of control east of the Blue Ridge. The apparently harmless motion of Senator Foote in the Senate, January, 1830, brought to the surface all the slumbering animosities on both sides. Around the question of the sale of Western lands there blew every wind of oratory, Benton's pedantic bombast, Hayne's charming zephyrs, and the sonorous thunder roll of Webster. The West was pulling hard on the East. Its concerns furnished the opportunity for the climax of eloquence in a whole generation, though the tide of speech drifted down into the related affairs of State and National powers. Yet there were those who, though of the East, were sufficiently informed and consistently loyal to the total progress of the nation to recognize and acknowledge that the inevitable had come. Only a few months prior to the great debate above referred to, Edward Everett was given a banquet at Nashville, Tennessee. In his toast he declared that "the most interesting subject of contemplation which the world at present affords" was the West. He further said that the East would be outvoted in the councils of the nation by the rising West. "The sceptre will then depart from Judah never to return." Yet he saw no incurable

ills to flow forth from the preponderance of the political influence of the newer States in the Mississippi valley and beyond.

The swift spread of civilization from the East to the West was one of the wonders which impressed Miss Martineau. What she noticed, others, born to love the land they were set to conquer and serve, gloried in publishing to the world. Daniel Webster visited St. Louis in 1837, and was inspired by the sight of the fruits of toil and patriotism beyond the Mississippi. "It is an era in the history of North America when an eastern man may stand upon the western bank of the Mississippi and look around upon the scenes which I behold. Where once was a wilderness I have beheld the comforts, the luxuries, the refinements, of polished existence. Who shall speak, then, the prospect of glory for the future?" The idea that they were destined to stand for something was common to the thoughts of the people. It appeared not only in the glowing phrases of the orator, the preacher, the editor, but also in the dreams, the conversation of the plain people. They harbored many foolish notions and bent their steps upon many perilous missions, and not infrequently threw their lives away in trying to achieve impossible quests, but these extravagances of action were only the outcroppings of the surplus energy of a mighty people not yet quieted down to the routine of convention.

The steps by which the people, not only in the newer but also in the older portions of the Union, rose to political power are clearly discoverable in the history of the nominating conventions. In them we see a slow transfer of influence from aristocracy to democracy. After 1796, it became the settled practice of the States in making nomination of candidates for the governorship to act through the State legislatures, and the title of the nominating body was the "legislative caucus." This added to its other duties that of selecting the electors for the choice of the president. The Federalists, after 1801, gave up holding caucuses.

Henceforth there appeared only Republican Congressional caucuses. In 1812, an effort was made to connect this central nominating body with the several states by a corresponding committee. In 1814, Andrew Pickens said in the House, speaking against the caucus method: "In fact, the chief magistrate of the nation owes his office principally to aristocratic intrigue, cabal, and management." A growing tendency toward a more popular form of nominations was nipped in the bud when the caucus of 1816, in naming a successor to Madison, rejected the proposal of Henry Clay to declare the nominations of the president in caucus "inexpedient." The vote nominating Monroe was a close one, sixty-five to fifty-four. Clay, not wishing to be a political heretic, moved to make it unanimous. The people remained for several years loyal to their lawmakers for political leadership, and the "regular" candidates alone had the right to the popular suffrage. The leaders of the first class were Congressmen; and those whom Hamilton called the "leaders of the second class" were the members of the State legislative caucus. What Josiah Quincy remarked, in 1826, was taken for granted, yet with increasing suspicion of its soundness, to wit, that "the glittering generalities of the Declaration were never meant to be taken seriously. Gentlemen were the natural rulers of America after all." It only remained with the progress of education, the increase of social privileges, and of economic freedom, for the prerogatives of "gentlemen" to sift down among the multitude, when the latter should stretch forth their hands for a share of power, though sometimes blindly, but always with masterful strength.

In 1820, coincident with the narrowing of the circle in which leading politicians translated their lack of political principles into reasons or causes for personal intrigue, and the refusal of all the candidates save one to accept the backing of the congressional caucus, was the collapse of the "politico-social hierarchy" in New England, and the erection of a new world in the West in which the sense

of equality was instinctive. The new man, the plain man, the man without a past, came to the front with a claim which was granted. For example, note the declaration of the meeting of citizens in Jefferson County, Ohio, December 2, 1823: "The only unexceptional source from which nominations can proceed is the people themselves." Popular gatherings were denouncing the congressional caucus as a flagrant usurpation of power, of popular rights.

The caucus that nominated Crawford strove by throwing open its doors to stifle the reproaches cast at the "Jacobinical conclave," but in vain. Even aristocrats joined the crusade. In the spirited debate of March, 1824, over the work of the caucus, Rufus King and Hayne fought side by side to right the ancient wrong. The end of the caucus was not far off. It mattered not if Barbour, of Virginia, did claim the "venerated Sam Adams" as its founder. Its day was done, with the three days of debate for its days of grace. At the end, the cry went out through the land: "King Caucus is dethroned." As if in anticipation of change of rulers, "mixed" caucuses had been at work in various States in the nomination of candidates for State offices. Rhode Island was probably the first in 1807. Pennsylvania followed in 1808. By 1817, a convention was reached in which the legislative members held subsidiary rank. This was soon followed by a purely popular convention, a body of delegates. In 1823, both parties adopted the method of strictly popular conventions. During the next decade the legislative caucus gradually disappeared in the other States. The new era began with the overthrow of the congressional caucus of 1824.

CHAPTER XVI

AMERICA—ITS IDEALISM

HAD the new industrialism of the thirties been inspired by none other than the bare and sordid appeals of machinery, it is fair to doubt whether the common laborer would have realized any permanent good from his physical surroundings. Even material well-being is dependent upon the presence and coöperation of intellectual and moral forces which enable the most lowly toiler to take advantage of all opportunities offered for advance. In this also is the explanation of the judgment of the economic expert that the lowest class of workers have gained least from machine production, and the highest class the most. In a word, unless the school be planted hard by the factory, and the church sit in the centre of the charmed circle, the man is depressed, while the machine becomes the master. From this the United States was saved in the days now under discussion.

It is true that the quality and the tendency of the life of the American were held in grave suspicion by many foreigners. At the opening of the century travellers judged us with little appreciation either of the difficulties which were encountered, or of the fierce determination which brushed them aside and marched on. In the first decade were found in close connection rude environment and gentle manners. An English traveller, John Davis, met under one roof refinement of breeding and positive roughness of discomfort. He was tutor in a Southern family, where he

had the shelter of a log house and the enjoyment of a sumptuous table; where he heard the rude plantation songs of the ignorant blacks intermingled with the intellectual conversation of the master of the plantation. Captain Thomas Ashe, in 1806, made special exploration of Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. He contrasts with ill-concealed scorn the raw life of the frontiersman on the western slopes of the Alleghanies with the pleasurable calm of European communities. To him snakes, bad taste in building, coarse manners, and swindlers veiled the beauties of nature. Yet either gallantry or veracity led him to say: "The ladies were by no means included in the general censure." Tom Moore eyed Buffalo in 1803 with contempt, as a "village of wigwams and huts." His association with British officials and Federalists will in part explain his jaundiced portrayal of a portion of American life. He had some ground for his scoffing at the unkempt national capital:

"The embryo capital, where fancy sees
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees."

And he found some relief, no doubt, in scathing the land:

"Where bastard freedom waves
Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves."

At the turning of the century milepost there were few books, only provincial papers, and literary poverty. Ramsay writing of South Carolina, immediately before the War of 1812, laments the small proportion of the rising generation who exhibited any zeal for culture. Too much indolence, too much duelling, too much drunkenness, too great proneness to contract debts were in his mind the chief vices of his fellows. Not having many books the more respectable read their Bibles. Real culture was confined to the very few. In 1800, Noah Webster complained of the lack of facilities for research. "There are not more than three or four tolerable libraries in America, and these are extremely imperfect." In 1814, good school books were difficult to

procure in Boston, and George Ticknor found no New England book dealer who had a copy of Euripides in the original.

There were not wanting indications of the desire for news of progress. The newspapers numbered three hundred and sixty-four in the first decade, of which twenty-five were dailies, but they were more useful to party prejudice than to the dissemination of real knowledge and the latest information. What political leaders thought, they contained enough of that, but what inventors and discoverers were doing, little indeed. Yet a better day was at hand, for the founding of the *Weekly Register* in Baltimore, in 1811, by Hezekiah Niles, introduced a newspaper to the American people of the highest worth as an authoritative summary of all items of progress. Its contemporary recital of important events made it of inestimable value to all students of this portion of American history. Among the men of foreign birth who found in America an open field for the display of active talents, Matthew Carey achieved high rank. He was born in Ireland in 1760. Out of twenty-five trades which his father offered him, he chose that of the printer. Before reaching his majority he drifted to Philadelphia, and laid the foundation of success in his journal called the *Pennsylvania Herald*, the first to furnish correct reports of legislative debates. In 1814 he began to issue the *Olive Branch*, a unique publication intended to create a better understanding of each other's position between the friends and the opponents of the war. About the time of the Missouri Compromise, Carey became one of the most active and able champions of the protective system of American industries.

In literature there was much of patriotism but also of provincialism. The sonorous imitation of the *Æneid*, Joel Barlow's *Columbiad*, a "plumbean epic," was proof of lofty aspiration, if not of shining achievement. Murray's *Grammar* and Webster's *Speller* went hand in hand throughout the land, twin benefactors of the youth of the nation.

The year of Madison's inauguration, Washington Irving was twenty-six years old, Cooper was sixteen, and Bryant fifteen, having already found vent for his poetic skill in a fling at Jefferson's embargo. There were scholars, not in abundance, however, like Dr. Samuel Mitchell, professor in Columbia College, a "universal genius," who supported the Republican party because Jefferson was its leader, and supported Jefferson because he was a philosopher.

The advantages offered by the young republic were sufficient to induce men of the first calibre to emigrate from homes of age-long culture and share with genuine enthusiasm all the fortunes of the people who delighted to call themselves Americans. Such was Dr. Thomas Cooper, natural philosopher and lawyer, who came to this country about 1792 with his friend Dr. Joseph Priestley. Cooper settled in South Carolina, and Priestley in Pennsylvania. A brilliant jurist of New Orleans was François Xavier Martin, who left France for America, and worthily won the title of father of the jurisprudence of Louisiana, by reason of his reconciliation of the French system of jurisprudence and the principles of the common law. In addition to his work as a lawyer, he rose to eminence as a philosophical annalist in his history of Louisiana, issued in 1827.

Yet the native poet, novelist, and historian were very rare. It was in 1820 that Sidney Smith asked in pitying scorn: "In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book?" Looking back from the plateau of calm reflection we need not wonder that the English critic discovered little to charm his attention among the literary productions of the Western continent. A people who were more concerned to subjugate nature than to interpret her changing moods, who were makers of history rather than composers of epics, and who, hero-like, were fighting for free exercise of swiftly expanding powers, could not be looked to for purest art in literature until they had time to recall in some quiet and beautiful hour of memory the wild romance of their earlier career. Yet the conquest of their rough environment was not

unaccompanied by the touch of the artist. It was not over two years after the sarcasm of Sidney Smith that Francis, Lord Jeffrey, wrote of Irving thus: "We have caught ourselves, oftener than we shall confess, neglecting his excellent matter, to lap ourselves in the liquid music of his periods, and letting ourselves float passively down the mellow windings of his soft-flowing sentences." In Washington Irving, criticism still discovers the file-leader of pure literature in America. The dreariness of earlier days was a sad spectacle, indeed, but it was quite impossible to achieve at a bound the double distinction of an Achilles and a Homer in the new world. Taste came before originality. In 1823, William Ellery Channing recognized the fact of an increase of taste in reading the literature of foreigners having a sale in America, and yet he urged the importance of cultivating our own ability in book making. "The more we receive from other countries, the greater the need of an original literature."

In the making of great political declarations, the formation of State and National Constitutions, the expounding of principles of free government, the educating of the mass of the people in the rights of citizenship, no land has surpassed the infant republic in its power to produce political thinkers from the time of Samuel Adams to that of John Marshall. The people were being trained in what was their essential life. Overlapping the era of early political discussion, and running down to the inauguration of Jefferson, we have a list of forty-one titles of magazines which were published by men who endeavored to form and lead public opinion. New York had eleven, Boston five, Philadelphia sixteen, the latter being for a long time the literary centre of the land. Edification was the chief aim. Nothing which could "call a blush to the cheek of innocence" was to be admitted. The first legal publication in America, and the second in the world, was the *American Law Journal* started at Baltimore in 1809. Soon the monthlies gave place to weeklies, and in 1813, we reach the date of the beginning

of religious newspapers in America, with the issue of the *Religious Remembrancer* at Philadelphia. By 1828, we find in the United States thirty-seven religious newspapers, the *Christian Advocate* leading the newspapers of the world, it was claimed, with a circulation of fifteen thousand copies.

When the *Port Folio*, in which the past was set forth, gave way to the *North American Review* in 1815, a distinct note of progress and type of thought were to be found. Literature was now to become a serious business. The "Era of Good Feelings" was the era of American literature. For when the *Review* was started in 1815 and Irving published his *Sketch Book* in 1819, American writers had found themselves. Washington Irving enabled the American of critical taste to hold up his head before Britons, who could muster such names as Burns, Byron, Hallam, and Scott. We had none so great as these but Irving was welcomed in their company. If competition was out of the question, companionship was yet allowed and that was a decided gain. Irving was born in the year of the Peace of Paris, which ended the strife of the Revolution, and his truly American genius was set forth in the name of the Father of his Country, whose life he afterward wrote. In 1802, he began to write for the *Morning Chronicle*, under the pen name of "Jonathan Oldstyle." His letters were modelled after the style of Addison and Steele. Carrying out the plan of the *Spectator*, he began in 1806 the publication of *Salmagundi*, a semi-monthly, but it died after the issue of twenty numbers. Dr. S. L. Mitchell had written a *History of New York*. Irving saw in it a capital butt for fun, and sent his manuscript to Philadelphia after certain original inducements to the public in the way of preliminary advertising. *A History of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker* appeared in the year of Madison's inauguration. It was a hit, and America then discovered her first original master in letters. The humor of the book was not palatable to dwellers on the banks of the Hudson with Dutch blood in their veins, but to all others it was delicious. For ten

years Irving did nothing of note in the way of writing until he published his *Sketch Book* in 1819, and within the next twenty years he delighted his countrymen with productions, which, however they might bear the hallmark of genius, did not equal his earlier works. By the time he wrote his *Life of Columbus* he was in a growing cluster of fresh and strong writers. James Fenimore Cooper was born in New Jersey in 1789. An adventurous life until he reached his thirtieth year had given him a foundation for authorship which he did not utilize until then or turn to any account. A casual remark of his wife transformed him from an idler to a voluminous writer. He published his *Spy* in 1821, and rose to fame. The *Pilot* appeared in 1823 and the *Last of the Mohicans* in 1826.

Jared Sparks, a farmer boy, omnivorous in his reading, a scholar, college bred, and intensely American was a strong literary personality of this period. Within two years after his graduation from Harvard he was pushed into the editorship of the *North American Review*. He will ever be gratefully mentioned as the indefatigable searcher in archives, foreign and domestic, for matters of value to Americans, especially those having to do with the first president. American literary precocity stands unchallenged in the work of William Cullen Bryant, born in Massachusetts in 1794, and at seventeen ready with his poem *Thanatopsis*, first published in the *North American Review* in 1817. The poem-loving public was not yet large, nor disposed to generous remuneration, for Bryant received only fifteen dollars profit from the sale, after five years, of two hundred and seventy copies of his volume of poems. He issued the edition in 1821. But imagination was at its dawn when, after a conversation with his friends Halleck and Cooper, Rodman Drake wrote *The Culprit Fay* in 1819. The enchantment of American streams had found a singer.

In the works of Alexander Wilson, famous as the first ornithologist of excellence in America, one finds a lively and graphic portrayal of the life in the wild woods in whose

depths he sought rare specimens of American birds. The publication of his seven volumes of *Ornithology* in 1813, the year of his death, is said to mark an era in ornithological science. George Ord, a naturalist, was the companion of Wilson on many a ramble, and wrote his life in 1828. But when we recall the name of John James Audubon, we speak of one whose life affords the lover of nature and of literature a double charm. Every grace of expression is put to service in the presentation of his master passion by this prince of naturalists. Never has a genius been so driven by love of nature and less by personal ambition to preserve the beauties of the birds of the primeval forests. He was born in Louisiana in 1780, and after studying design under the celebrated painter David, commenced, about 1810, his series of excursions in the woods of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. On his visit to France in 1828 he was received with honor by Cuvier and Humboldt, the former of whom remarked of his splendid work entitled *The Birds of America* that it "is the most magnificent monument that art has ever erected to ornithological science." The *Biography* of Audubon, published in 1831, is scented with the breath of the untrodden forests of the West, in which he loved to roam alone. In it the trapper, the artist, the naturalist, and the author are charmingly associated. The work of Washington Allston, born in South Carolina, has a twofold charm. A pioneer in pictorial and literary art he shared with Richard Henry Dana on the banks of the Charles the privilege of lecturing to audiences, eager if not critical, upon themes connected with the artistic portrayal of thought and form. The tolerable figures of Philip Freneau, James Gates Percival, the "chief of the Connecticut bards of the second generation," of James Kirke Paulding, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, John Howard Payne, immortal in one song, fade into indistinctness as a new cluster begins to brighten the sky. In 1837, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was thirty years old, Edgar Allen Poe twenty-eight, Ralph Waldo Emerson thirty-four, George Bancroft thirty-seven, John Greenleaf Whittier

thirty, Nathaniel Hawthorne thirty-three, Oliver Wendell Holmes twenty-eight. By the writings of these men America was to destroy another foreign prejudice.

The old charge that Americans could not fight had been replaced by another,—that they could not write. Lack of originality, shameful mediocrity, blundering art and boastfulness were the main characteristics of American talent, said the *Edinburgh Review*, about the time of the Missouri Compromise. Nothing could satisfy such a critical traveller as Fearon, in whose eyes everything had a sallow deadness, from the complexions of the ladies to the forms of social intercourse. The only channel in which the American mind found congenial exercise was in law. "America, if not priest-ridden like Spain, is in a worse state—she is lawyer-ridden." Appeals in defence of the right of America to express herself as she chose, and of the good quality of her literary productions were forthcoming in the first issues of the *North American Review*, but the strongest answer had to wait for the new generation of writers. The intellectual awakenings during the years of Jackson's presidency are so notable a feature of American life that the historian is tempted to dwell upon the wider sweep of the American mind, and its easy exercise in story telling, song and history. Truly, a new day had dawned. Carlyle wrote to Emerson: "You are a new era, my man, in your huge country." In 1834, Bancroft published the first volume of his *History*, whose final volume was destined to see the light after the lapse of a half century; and in the same year Emerson, the Plato of the Concord group, settled in the quaint New England town which has given name to a branch of modern philosophy. The intellectual independence of America had now come. Emerson's philosophy, as he wrote to Carlyle; "teaches acquiescence and optimism." His aim was to make sacred the idea of self-surrender to ideals, and to give them their fullest expression. Emerson was an idealist through and through, living in the midst of an age strongly tinged with

materialism. He was condemned, but serenely content. He was to do for the literary atmosphere of America what Carlyle was doing for that of England.

Emerson is significant of a change which brooded over the theological thinking of the times. In himself he stood for the extreme statement of the drift of thought which characterized the Unitarian revival of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Born just a century from the birth year of the theological genius, Jonathan Edwards, Emerson left the pulpit on Sunday, September 9, 1832, and turned to literature as his life work. His home in Concord became a sort of authors' Mecca. Through him and his followers, "Transcendentalism," which averred that external experience was not the complete source of men's knowledge, got a new hearing.

Though Emerson outreached the limits of the Unitarian resistance to the orthodox creeds which had been preached in New England for generations, he yet was in touch with the brilliant and benevolent Channing. The freedom for which the philosopher pleaded was that for which the preacher prayed. It was in the air, and there was no resisting it. Emerson's essays and Channing's sermons were a part of the general revival of thought, of philanthropic spirit, and of practical religion. While the theological era in American history, strictly speaking, lay in the past, yet its strength in the first part of the nineteenth century explains the vigorous debate between the conservative and the liberal views which existed in the East. The sterner Calvinism of an earlier day, and the dogmatic devotion to the minutiae of faith died hard, but they died nevertheless. New England had two wars on hand in 1812, one physical, the other intellectual. The strife between Moses Stuart and Leonard Woods, of Andover, champions of orthodoxy, and William Ellery Channing, the two Wares and Andrews Norton, apologists of the new faith, was conducted with vigor, intensity and no little bitterness. Harvard swung to the side of Unitarianism, and Congregationalism, as the

old state church, was noticeably weakened. The right to dictate to the laity which had long been assumed by the clergy of New England was questioned, denied, opposed. Princeton College, the stronghold of Presbyterianism, was held steadier under the potent influence of Archibald Alexander, and the "free thought" of the advanced pulpits of Massachusetts was urgently attacked by valiant souls and keen minds. The thinkers in the South were far more conservative and more suspicious of the new leaven.

The Old World idea of the relation between Church and State so fused the creeds of the one and the offices of the other that it seriously infringed upon the freedom of faith and the rights of citizenship. For the first time in the history of the world it was reserved for the American people in the unfolding of their national life, to separate the two, and yet to secure for the State the highest blessings of freedom of conscience, and for the Church the amplest protection of the law of the land. It is a far cry from the days when Christianity was the *religio illicita*, that lawless thing, under the ban of the Roman Empire, to the days when absolute freedom of faith is found on the banks of the Mississippi.

Not even the growth of nationalism in Europe as a principle in the policy of States before the days of Martin Luther secured liberty of thought; nor later did kings, who stoutly resisted the pretensions of Rome to political control, and bent every energy to gain unity of national life, make less effort to preserve the unity of the faith in the bounds of their States. Nor yet later, in England, during the times when her colonies were fighting for their independence, could men like Burke see otherwise than this: "The ideas of Church and State are inseparable in our view." The various disabilities from whose burdens the Pilgrims sought relief in their flight to the American shores remained fastened upon the life of England until half a generation after Waterloo, and the Parliamentary tests were not set aside until 1828.

Nor yet again, even under more favorable circumstances, could the colonists of Cape Cod or James River, though fleeing persecution, at once welcome the ideas of individualism in faith and citizenship. They were not freely tolerant, though themselves sufferers from the oppression of the Establishment in the mother country. The notion that the settlers in Massachusetts sought to establish religious liberty in the New World is far from the truth. In John Cotton's declaration that "it was Toleration that made the world anti-Christian," and in the words of President Oakes, of Harvard College, as late as 1673: "I look upon unbounded Toleration as the first-born of all abominations," it is easy to read the slow progress toward the truth which was not fully reached until the opening of the nineteenth century. It is true that Rhode Island denied the principle of Massachusetts. In Virginia the attitude of the civil government toward the Church and religion was solely due to a secular or political motive, quite different from that of the Puritan, whose motive was purely religious; the latter insisting upon conformity in order to make the State religious, and to guarantee a true religion; the former insisting upon conformity because the Church was a department of the State and dissent was tantamount to insubordination. The student of the times is not surprised to see how the Puritan experiment resulted in irreligion and the Virginian in disorder.

Grouped about Massachusetts were Plymouth, New Haven, Connecticut, and New Hampshire with their Congregational establishments; in another group were Virginia and the two Carolinas; while in another were New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Georgia. Maryland began with religious freedom, under Roman Catholic auspices, but was afterward forced to accept the Church of England as its legal establishment; the same is true of Georgia, which beginning with liberty of worship ended just before the Revolution by enacting the establishment of the Church of England. In the fourth group were Pennsylvania, Rhode

Island, and Delaware; in these colonies there never was an established church, the broadest of all being Rhode Island, to the likeness of which all were willing at last to come.

The growing conviction of the colonists that ecclesiastical establishments and civil authority must be separated is nowhere more clearly shown than in the unwillingness of the colonies to accept bishops appointed in England for the Episcopal Church in America occupying the same relation to civil and ecclesiastical functions as was the case in the mother country. They were willing to have, and indeed asked for, an episcopal supervision shorn of all civil power, though in this New York was more anxious than was Virginia to secure a bishop from the Church of England. That it was not likely to be granted is evident from the fact that the non-Episcopal population was vastly in excess of the numbers claiming allegiance to the Church of England in America. In 1770, according to William Smith, the historian of New York: "The Episcopalians are in the proportion of one to fifteen" (in New York). Another factor which operated as a powerful obstruction to the introduction of bishops in America was the general loyalty to the king on the part of the clergy of the Church of England in America. Fear of the Established Church, said John Adams, "contributed as much as any other cause to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urged them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies."

Not only so, but the authorities in England and their representatives in power in America were indifferent, if not unwilling, to accede to the demand for a colonial episcopate. The Governor of Maryland, about 1730, refused to allow the Rev. Mr. Colebatch to go to England for ordination. The governors were jealous of their own prerogatives. And even after independence of the colonies was conceded there was a sulky resentment in the Church of England which revealed itself in the long delay which it imposed upon candidates for episcopal ordination from the United States.

Though the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church was adopted October, 1785, in Philadelphia, it was not until the 4th of February, 1787, that Dr. William White and Samuel Provost were ordained bishops by the primate of the Church of England. Dr. Samuel Seabury had lost patience and had obtained ordination at the hands of the nonjuring Bishop of Aberdeen in 1784.

In the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America the spirit of refusal to grant the rights of independent control appears. Before the close of the Revolutionary War, John Wesley entreated Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, to ordain at least one presbyter to administer the sacraments among the American Methodists, but Lowth declined his request. Wesley, having long since reached the conclusion that a bishop might be consecrated by the imposition of the hands of presbyters, summoned to his aid, according to the custom of the Church of England, two presbyters, and set apart Dr. Thomas Coke as superintendent or bishop of the Methodist Societies in America. This was in September, 1784. On the 24th of December, 1784, was held the first conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore, and Francis Asbury was duly elected and consecrated bishop by Coke, assisted by Philip Otterbein, of the German church.

With the gaining of independence there followed most naturally, disestablishment, and the widening of the bounds of religious liberty. Yet it was not till the second decade of the nineteenth century had passed that the States were in substantial agreement with the article in the Constitution declaring the principle of freedom in religion. In New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, church rates lasted for thirty, forty, and fifty years from the founding of the nation. In New Hampshire a "toleration act" was passed in 1819; in Connecticut a constitution was framed in 1818, which destroyed the religious establishment; and in Massachusetts the disestablishment of the church (Congregationalist) took place in 1833.

President Timothy Dwight, of Yale University, was in grief to the day of his death over the change to the new policy, but for America the system of voluntary support had come to stay. The destruction of the Congregational establishment led England to believe that America was creeping to its moral doom. The Old World was unable to see either the hope of the new democracy or the power of the free religion. It could not understand that in the voluntary system of church support there lay couched a noble argument for wholesome rivalry, in which, despite a tendency to uncharitableness, was the promise of the salvation of the Mississippi valley from the moral decay which really threatened it in the last days of the preceding century. For nowhere in all the world was religion more wanted than in the new lands lying to the west of the Alleghanies. There was no lack of controversial preaching among the leaders of religious thought in the new States and Territories, nor any check to the outlet of the emotional nature of the new converts. In these days Roman Catholicism was of slowest growth, though it greatly increased when immigration set in. The Protestant Episcopal church was largely confined to the cities; the Presbyterians prospered mainly in the Middle States, worshipping with the Congregationalists in the settlements south of the lake region until 1837; the Lutherans found among the German populations in Pennsylvania and Ohio their chief stronghold; while the swiftest progress was manifest in the crude but powerful appeals to the masses by the Baptist and especially by the Methodist itinerant preachers. The zeal, the organization, and the broad doctrines of the last named, carried them to every corner of the land, but their chief glory and success were to be found in the West.

From 1826 to 1832, the churches were in the wake of a sweeping revival. In the city of New Haven, in the year 1831, nine hundred conversions were reported. Men of rare brain power as well as of widely-heralded piety led in the awakenings throughout the land. Among them

were scholars like Charles G. Finney and Lyman Beecher, and born leaders of men like William McKendree. The result was to be seen in the ecclesiastical census of the year 1830, when it was noted that the Presbyterian Church had increased in thirty years fourfold; the Congregational Church twofold; the Baptist Church threefold; and the Methodist Episcopal Church sevenfold.

The American people could not be styled indifferent to religion, so long as crowds of eager souls hung upon the message of the evangelist. De Tocqueville, who visited America in 1831, gave it as his calm judgment that "there is no country in the world where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America." And he sagely remarks that while it takes no direct part in the government of society, "it must be regarded as the first of their political institutions." He found the Americans convinced that their type of Christianity and their freedom were inseparable. "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot." A strange missionary zeal possessed not only ministers but laymen. A huge revival wave overswept the West in the first decade of the nineteenth century, due to the institution of the "camp-meeting" in lower Kentucky by two brothers, William and John Magee, one a Presbyterian and the other a Methodist. As a means of inspiring vast throngs in the West they were unexcelled, and though they allowed, and it may be even encouraged, excesses in the achievement of "conversions," their influence for good may not be rightly doubted by those familiar with the whole life of the people. According to the testimony of a Presbyterian minister there were gathered at one of the vastest camp-meetings twenty thousand persons. There was profound religious excitement, but hardly more than swept over New England in the thirties of the eighteenth century, when Jonathan Edwards bore down all before him, and the multitude cried for surcease of his tremendous appeals. There was a profound connection between these religious excitements and the new mental

outlook which marked the experience of thousands in the Mississippi valley. Says Professor Shaler in his history of Kentucky: "No one who remembers the people who owed their conversion to this time can doubt that on the whole it was a blessed influence, and did more than anything else to smooth away the rudeness which the endless combats of thirty years had put upon the people." Some of the leaders in this religious movement in the West were to the Church what Andrew Jackson was to the expansion of the State, like Peter Cartwright of unique prowess in dealing with incorrigible roughs, and yet with rare ability to comfort the broken-hearted.

These early Protestant itinerants remind us of the Roman Catholic missionaries who two centuries before had penetrated the same country and had suffered even greater hardships. They remind us of the fathers of the same Church who, at the time that the Methodists were moving the hearts of the people of the Middle West, were bearing the standard of the Cross a thousand miles further West in a territory where death was often the reward of their unswerving devotion to their faith. The immigrant could not hope to escape from the fraternal curiosity of the itinerant preacher. That such a gospel on horseback won the following of a growing host is not to be marvelled at. When men like John Strange, in Ohio, tore their way through briars and risked drowning, and stole, with gun on shoulder, past ambushed Indians to reach their little flocks, it is not unnatural that when they reached the blockhouses and began to sing with pathetic emphasis "And are we yet alive?" that the hard-visaged frontiersmen wept like children. There was nothing that the settler endured that was not shared by the itinerant. The pioneer wrung prosperity out of hardships that are almost unimaginable to their descendants, who live far removed from peril, want, and hard toil. The immigrant, with wife and little ones, climbed the mountain passes, and descended into the plains beyond, or drifted with the current of the Ohio, not free from dangers

of lurking savage, nor in later years from other perils, to enter the unbroken forest where night was dismal with the howl of the wolf and the weird call of the night bird, and where day meant only ceaseless vigilance, with hand on gun, or stern labor with the ax. The cabin, reared with the friendly help of scattered neighbors, sheltered a family whose food was wild game and Indian corn, whose bedding was the bearskin, and whose clothing was taken from the simple loom or the tanned deerskin. Primitive medicaments but poorly baffled disease, and the tiny procession moved from many a lowly domicile to deposit the rough casket in a pinched clearing.

Whether in Boston or Cincinnati or the further West, there was the spirit of individualism and of free thought. It naturally bred quarrels and disputation among members of the same communion, and in cases led to disruption of the body. The South was more conservative than the North or the West. But all were in different degrees affected by the spirit of the day. The American Unitarian Association was formed in 1825, and Harvard College and Divinity School fell to the liberals.

The Presbyterian Church has been subject to several disunions. In the eighteenth century severe measures were taken against Gilbert and William Tennent and others in matters growing out of the desire for more liberty in methods of work. In the first decade of the nineteenth century another call was made by men like the aged David Rice, in Kentucky, for larger liberty in the spread of the Gospel. Out of this grew the Cumberland Presbytery, which was formally established in 1810. The third disunion was the result of a sharp and protracted controversy, and of serious import, reaching its head in the trial of Dr. Albert Barnes in 1830. The crisis came in 1837 when the General Assembly in Philadelphia testified against sixteen errors, and disowned four synods in western New York and Ohio. The excitement was intense. For a generation "Old School" and "New School" were slogans for wordy

battle, until new strength and long desired peace came in the union of 1869.

"The Disciples of Christ," popularly named from their founder Alexander Campbell, were a remarkable product of the times of this stir. Campbell, of vigorous personality and altogether unusual ability, a seceder from the Presbyterian faith, urged that nothing should be demanded for faith except what was as old as the New Testament. He became an intense advocate of immersion as the proper form of baptism. In 1827, he was excluded from the Baptist fellowship for protesting against all human creeds as a bond of union. His followers organized as a separate body which spread with unusual vigor through the States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. The time was one of marked evangelistic activity, of pronounced individualism, of debate and proselytism.

In the opportunity which the freedom of the times offered for riotous growths of vagary, fanaticism, and folly, a startling instance is found of credulity commanded by organizing power of uncommon excellence. Mormonism originated amid the scoffing of the neighbors of the founder, "a lad of low birth, very limited education, and uncertain morals." The family of the founder appears to have been given to visions and dreams. Joseph Smith was born in Vermont, in 1805, and drifting to Palmyra, New York, lived a shiftless and untrustworthy life. His Mormon biographer, Orson Pratt, said of him: "He could read without much difficulty, and write a very imperfect hand, and had a very limited understanding of the elementary rules of arithmetic." The elder Smith was known as a "money-digger," and the habit of searching for hidden treasure was the chief heritage the son received from the father. The son became a "crystal-gazer," and fell to prophesying. He thought to make a fortune through the use of a "peep-stone" which he purchased from one Belcher, and failure was attributed to "enchantment." From 1820 to 1827, these money-seeking enterprises continued, when, according to the story

told by Joseph Smith, a book written on golden plates was delivered to him. Smith was accustomed to say to his neighbors that no one but himself could look upon the plates and live, yet when the *Book of Mormon* was printed it was announced that there were three witnesses to testify that an angel had shown them the plates, and following this there were eight who had seen them. It is enough to remember that the three, who should have been abiding pillars of the faith, became apostates, and were loaded with opprobrium. The story of the translation of the "plates" as given by the father-in-law, Isaac Hale, whose daughter Emma eloped with Smith, is to the effect that "the manner in which he [Joseph Smith] pretended to read and interpret was the same as when he looked for money, with the stone in his hat and his hat over his face, while the book of plates was at the same time hid in the woods." Copies of the mysterious characters were taken by a plain farmer to the celebrated scholar, Professor Charles Anthon, who was requested to decipher them. He was convinced that at the bottom of the matter lay a trick, or a hoax, or, as he later thought, an effort to cheat the farmer out of his money. Anthon said that the paper contained anything but "Egyptian hieroglyphics." The book was published in 1830. The most credible source of the Mormon Bible was in a manuscript written by one Solomon Spaulding, a Dartmouth graduate who had migrated to the West near the Ohio border. He produced a fanciful history of the ancient races found in the country. Worthy witnesses testified after the Mormon Bible came out that they had listened to the recital of the facts and fancies written in the fashion of the Bible, as they had been set forth in the Spaulding manuscript and recited to interested circles of friends.

Definite proof of the way in which the Spaulding manuscript became incorporated in the Mormon Bible is lacking, but that there was an abler directing mind behind Smith giving form and a measure of consistency to the disconnected story of an imaginary past cannot easily be doubted.



Washington Irving.

From the engraving by M. J. Danforth, after the painting by C. R. Leslie, R. A.



James Fenimore Cooper.

From the engraving by E. Scriven, after the painting by J. W. Jarvis.

What the illiterate Smith could not do alone he was enabled to accomplish through the aid of Sidney Rigdon, a seceder from the body led by Alexander Campbell. Rigdon was a man of uncommon force and intelligence. He became much embittered against Campbell, and threw his influence with the colony at Palmyra. Mormon authorities have claimed that there was nothing unusual in the finding of "plates," and refer to the finding of the "Kinderhook" plates near Kinderhook, Illinois, in 1843. But the true story of these plates was disclosed on June 30, 1879, when W. Fulgate, of Mound Station, Brown County, Illinois, made affidavit before Jay Brown, justice of the peace, that the plates were "a humbug, gotten up by Robert Wiley, Bridge Whitton, and myself." The burial of the plates was described and their digging up in the presence of two Mormon elders. The plates were finally given to the museum of a Mr. McDowell in St. Louis, but have since then disappeared.

The organization of the Church of the Latter Day Saints proceeded apace. May 15, 1829, while in the woods, Smith and Oliver Cowdery were "ordained" by a heavenly messenger, who reported himself to be John the Baptist, and they were told to present the cause to their fellows. Zeal was not at fault with them. Elders, priests, teachers, deacons, and members were to compose the church. "Revelations" were frequent and fruitful of new phases of doctrine and powers granted to the hierarchy. Smith assumed the place of the head of the church. The removal to Kirtland, Ohio, took place in 1830. There converts multiplied rapidly. Missionaries were sent as far as New England. It was at Kirtland that Brigham Young joined the body. Dissensions, financial distress, and scandals led to the removal of the main body to Missouri, where they were to find their land of Zion, near Independence, in that State. Driven from Missouri they went to Illinois and built up the town of Nauvoo. There they remained for about ten years, when the famous exodus to the West

occurred. The result of this movement was Utah, a State created from a desert by Mormon thrift and industry. Polygamy was not a part of the creed or practice of Smith and his followers at first, but loose views soon crept in among them touching the marriage relation. The "revelation" giving sanction to plural marriages is dated July 12, 1843. While this held many, it was too severe a strain upon the credulity or the chastity of others, for as Stenhouse says: "Mormonism in England, Scotland, and Wales was a grand triumph, and was fast ripening for a vigorous campaign in Continental Europe," when polygamy was revealed. It immediately lost momentum. Polygamy was at first secret. In one light it was a burden; many taking offence even in the new community; in another aspect it was a bond of strength. During the time of probation, both Joseph and Hyrum Smith published, on February 1, 1844, a solemn denial of the charge. But the revelation and the practices were not easily concealed. Opposition arose between the "saints" and the "gentiles," which culminated in the assassination of the two brothers in 1844.

The successor of Smith was Brigham Young, born in Vermont in 1801. As an expert carpenter and glazier he was in demand, and to the skill of the craftsman he added a knowledge of men, and great administrative ability. His superiority was native to him and he became the supreme ruler of the church, called, as he felt, to do a more remarkable work than Smith had done. When disasters befell Nauvoo and the Mormons were expelled, Young led them in a strange and perilous migration westward, going far beyond the outskirts of civilization to set up an empire where they might have their own land and their own laws. They crossed the Missouri, followed the North Fork of Platte River, emerged through the South Pass of the Rockies into the land where they finally settled on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, reaching their destination by the close of July, 1847. A master hand was that of Young. Centralization was the order of the day. Useless lands were

reclaimed by irrigation; schemes of colonization were elaborated; farms, mills, and factories began to pay their revenues into the church treasury, and the "wilderness blossomed as the rose," as they were wont to say, even literally.

A self-centred theocracy, with modern methods of industry, with wornout doctrines and offensive practices, and with the assumption which lay at the basis of the Mormon creed, that the Church of the Saints is a government of God, bound to supplant all civil governments, is an anomaly of peculiar interest even in after days when former fears as to its pernicious spread have vanished.

The new West offered opportunity for the organization of social experiments which, though not so successful as that of the Mormons, are full of interest as attempts to secure equal social and economic rights. The experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, owed its origin to the Rappists. They were the offspring of the efforts of George Rapp to found a communistic society. He was born in Würtemberg, Germany, in 1770, of humble parentage, and was of limited education. His efforts to promote "Apostolic Christianity" angered the clergy and he withdrew to America. In 1805, he and his followers threw all their possessions into a common fund, and founded the village of Harmony, twenty-five miles northwest of Pittsburg, and under the direction of Rapp, their preacher, teacher, guide, and friend, they prospered. In 1807, they became convinced that it was their duty to draw closer to God, and to become in all things like Christ, so they became celibates. In 1814, they determined to remove to Indiana, and with remarkable unanimity settled upon a tract of land of twenty-seven thousand acres in the Wabash valley, calling it "New Harmony." In 1824, they sold their property to Robert Owen and returned to Economy, Pennsylvania, where they long enjoyed great prosperity.

Robert Owen was a native of Wales, born in 1771, and early became the manager of a successful cotton mill at Manchester. It is of interest to note that he was the first

in Great Britain to use in his mill cotton imported from America. He was a true philanthropist. New Lanark, near Glasgow, owed to him its great success, though his supposed original creed—the irresponsibility of man and the effect of early influences, which are the keynote of his whole system of education and social amelioration—is part of ancient theory. His remarkable achievements at New Lanark in building what he called an Institution for the Formation of Character, in shortening hours of labor, and in promoting the happiness and comfort of all in the community system of living, drew the attention of reformers, even Nicholas, afterward the Emperor of Russia, making him a visit. He thought to abolish pauperism by establishing communities of about a thousand persons in each upon about one thousand acres of land for each village settlement. They were to live in a large building, with common kitchen and messrooms. He grew in the favor of thinkers and philanthropists until he went out of his way to attack all the existing forms of religion. He became in a measure discredited, but did not cease his efforts to put to the test his theories of social reform. Owen reached America in 1824 and gave to his scheme the widest publicity; among other methods using the Hall of Representatives at Washington for two long addresses to audiences of distinction. The age was eager and men were willing to try new schemes for human betterment. He put strong emphasis upon environment, but set lightly aside all religions as based upon error. He would have no churches or religious instruction in his new settlement, only moral lessons, with every artistic accompaniment that should secure the devotion of the young to their education. He went to New Harmony, inviting “the industrious and well-disposed of all nations” to come. It was a motley crowd, curious, idle, and thriftless, that he gathered about him. During the absence of the chief there was confusion, and even on his return the temporary well-being which followed his reorganization had no firm basis of hope in the members themselves, no matter how buoyant and

rational Owen seemed to be. All appeared to go well till he attempted to introduce uniformity in dress. The collarless jacket which the men were to wear buttoned to the pantaloons, and the pantalets and sleeveless frock falling to the knees which were for the women aroused a spirit of rebellion. But the heaviest blow of opposition fell when Owen announced, July 4, 1826, his Declaration of Mental Independence. He would abolish private property, religion, and the marriage tie. The last word lost him more than his other doctrines brought to him. Discord set in. Owen began to sell the property to individual owners. Fences were set up, and with the signs of an ordinary village life creeping in, Owen became discouraged and left them to their fate. He forsook a wrecked institution, and returned to England in 1827, and the traveller to-day finds scarce a trace of his settlement.

Among efforts devoted to the amelioration of the condition of mankind there were those directed to increasing the well-being of the negroes. One of the most remarkable was that of Frances Wright, who attempted the impossible in the founding of a settlement of slaves near Memphis, Tennessee. She was a Scotch girl from Dundee, whose two years in New England had filled her with dreams of the spread of democracy. In 1824, she returned to the United States, after three years spent in the family of Lafayette, and tried the same system among the slaves that Owen had used among the whites. In the autumn of 1825, Miss Wright bought a tract of land near Memphis and began an experiment which ended in failure. No slave communism was likely to promote emancipation. Her after career was marked by advocacy of the rights of women and the use of the public platform in lecturing upon topics which in themselves or in the manner of their utterance aroused much opposition among conservative people.

The conviction that a better day was in store for mankind attained a brief but stirring expression in the faith and preaching of William Miller. A native of Pittsfield,

Massachusetts, he became in 1833 the apostle of the doctrine which has had a fascination for many in this and other times, that the second advent of the Saviour of men will put an end to all the ills which now trouble the world. For ten years he urged upon a goodly crowd of followers his belief in the nearing millennium. The credulous expectation of the devoted band was doomed to disappointment. If in proportion to the whole population a few grasped with eagerness after the promises of the quick redemption of society and the rectification of government, still the great body of believers in the good quality of American society and of the frame of government was sane and content to move rationally toward the desired goal. True, the signs of gross materialism were abundant enough to make anxious the ardent soul, but the foundations of real power were present in the best thought and practice of the people. The experiment of the republic now began to attract the eyes of political thinkers like De Tocqueville, and of sympathetic reporters like Harriet Martineau.

The structure of American society was fairly simple. There was not, in the proper sense of the term, any division into classes. A family might be exclusive for reasons of wealth or taste or pride, but no one held a title in all the broad land aside from official or professional duties. Yet the period was not without its remnants of former distinctions between the sons of leaders and those of the plain people, especially in college life, and in the East. William Jay was received at Yale as befitted the son of the great John Jay, and was favored by being allowed to room with a resident graduate, who like all such was called "sir." The possession of a proud name in colonial days, especially when allied with wealth and ability went far to secure for the younger members of the family quick promotion in the public service. The Livingston family was rich in its record of worthy names. Not to mention those generally known, one such was Henry Walter Livingston, who died in his prime in 1810, after serving two terms in Congress. The

commendation of Gouverneur Morris, whom Livingston accompanied to France as his private secretary, is to the point when he sent his young aid to President Washington: "although of a tender age, his discretion may always be depended on." Among the prominent mayors of New York was Henry Cruger, whose career illustrates the facility with which merchant princes became enlisted in the service of the public. He belonged to a line of traders, was in business before the Revolution with his father in Bristol, became a colleague of Edmund Burke in Parliament, after the war settled in New York, and had the peculiar distinction of being elected to the State Senate while yet a member of the British Parliament.

Public offices drew on all professions. Dr. Robert Patterson, professor of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, was appointed director of the mint in 1805, and his son, R. M. Patterson, served in the same capacity upon his appointment in 1835. The president of the Electoral college in the election of 1836 was another Robert Patterson, of reputation as a merchant and a soldier. When men like Dr. S. L. Mitchell, of New York, physician and naturalist, one of the really great scholars of his day, entered the United States Senate, and Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, a brilliant writer and professor in the Protestant Episcopal Seminary, New York, was elected to Congress in 1825, none could deny that public affairs in America were being administered by men of expert ability. All offices were open to ability, and personal worth was held at a premium. A family might to-day be unknown, and to-morrow it might command the eye of the community, or even of the nation, on account of its character and resources. Nowhere on earth was there such mobility of social life as in the western world. The ancestors of Jared Sparks, of William Pinkney, of Andrew Jackson, of Daniel Webster, of Henry Clay, of Van Buren, and hosts of such men were without escutcheon, wealth, or the prestige that comes from high service. The sons were welcome additions

to the select circles in which Otis, of Boston, Livingston, of New York, and Randolph, of Virginia, were wont to move, as if with a fine sense of proprietorship.

Of aristocracy, in the European acceptation of the word, there was none. It is true that there were families in New England who were jealous of their privileges of birth and there were men in Virginia who leaned hard upon their father's fame, but the only consolation they had in their poverty was their right to certain hearthstones from which vulgar people of mushroom prosperity were debarred. Among the leaders in the South there was more solidarity than in the North. This was due to the economic relations of slavery to social life. A body of planters, some of them of the highest refinement, of intellectuality, of great fortunes, of patriarchal instincts toward their slaves, and others of no education, with nothing but coarse plenty, no beauty about the home, and none of the luxuries of life, would be drawn together in the use and defence of the system which had lifted them all to the top of social and political power. While generous in their freehand hospitality, they were keenly sensitive to criticism and quick to resent any freedom of speech directed against their system of labor. The doctrine of wide ranging social equality was repugnant beyond measure, and yet that of democracy, of the political rights of free men, was proclaimed upon every housetop. Here aristocracy and democracy were, in theory at least, most intimate.

Foreign observers were quite unanimous in their statements touching the unchallenged virtue of American women, their willingness to be home makers, their pride in their husbands and children, their freedom from many of the restrictions of European custom, and yet their safe position in the social world. They enjoyed a degree of freedom that astonished visitors. There was a simplicity, a decorum, and an absence of coquetry, which bespoke a type of life unused to the manners of an older civilization. Woman received a deference from men which afforded travellers like

Captain Marryat a chance to pay a tribute that lights up the character of both men and women in an age of rough adventure and exacting demands upon polite manners. He says: "This deference paid to the sex is highly creditable to the American; it exists from one end of the Union to the other; indeed, in the Southern and more lawless States it is even more chivalric than in the more settled." De Tocqueville noticed that the marriage tie was held in the nicest respect throughout America, no other country being its equal.

Of American women whose high character, mental vigor, and rare charm of person attracted to their homes leaders of fashion and of thought, Phœbe Ann Rush, the daughter of Jacob Ridgway, was one of the most noted. She became the wife of Dr. James Rush, son of the celebrated Benjamin Rush. She was highly educated, and her luxurious parlors gave her easy command of the choicest members of society in Philadelphia. It was in her memory that her husband founded the great Ridgway Library, elsewhere referred to. A more famous beauty of the times was Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, daughter of a merchant prince of the city, who married the youngest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, Jérôme, against the will of the ruler of France, and was afterward unable to secure recognition for her son as a claimant of the throne of France. It is interesting to note here that another Bonaparte, Joseph, the eldest brother of Napoleon I., found an asylum in America after the disaster at Waterloo; he settled in Bordentown, New Jersey, assuming the name of Comte de Survilliers. It is a curious fact that by special legislation he was authorized to hold real estate in New York and New Jersey. That the beauties of society have no longer the national fame which they once enjoyed is the verdict of Josiah Quincy in his *Figures of the Past*, a volume which is true to its title, and in which the notables of the early decades of the century walk with lifelike animation before us. Among the women whom he names as the belles of the decade of 1820 were Miss Cora Livingston, of New Orleans;

Miss Julia Dickenson, of Troy; and Miss Emily Marshall, of Boston. Of the latter he wrote with fine enthusiasm in 1822: "Miss Marshall stood unrivalled. She is the most beautiful creature I ever saw."

It is true that women were not at liberty to use many privileges that custom had reckoned as belonging to men. When Hannah Adams went as reader to the Athenæum in Boston she was regarded as an intruder. But woman's day was drawing near. When Lucretia Mott, a woman of Quaker birth, of fine intellectuality and clearest moral perceptions, arose to speak in the first meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in Philadelphia, in 1833, she took a step in which the unusual and the prophetic were fused.

In the capital of the nation, the change that had come over the etiquette of the highest social life was remarked by many. Washington and Adams had kept up a rather punctilious form. Jefferson, though an aristocrat by birth and taste, was the apostle of free manners at the White House. Under the control of Madison there was a noticeable return to the dignity and ceremony of the first presidents. No change followed during the times of John Quincy Adams and Monroe, but under Jackson another atmosphere prevailed. At the coming of the new man society lost its exclusive character in Washington. The era of handshaking set in, and the "social barriers were carried by the unrefined and coarse."

Washington society was an odd compound of high officials, foreign grandees, servants, refinement, coarseness, "grave judges, saucy travellers, pert newspaper reporters, melancholy Indian chiefs, and timid New England ladies." In more extended phrase did Miss Martineau picture the life of the capital in the time of Jackson. Her evenings at home were of the pleasantest sort. Here is Clay sitting upright, snuffbox in hand, discoursing on great subjects of American policy "in his ever soft, deliberate tone," amazing her with his moderation. Webster is there, "leaning back at his ease, telling stories, or smoothly discoursing to the

perfect felicity of the logical part of one's constitution." Calhoun would come in for a short while "and leave us to take to pieces his close, rapid, theoretical, illustrated talk."

While in education New England led the way, and the proportion of the people who read and wrote surpassed that of any other section, no one was more eager to advance the cause of education than Jefferson for his native State. Jefferson's words upon the subject are worth a place in any account of the period. Writing to J. C. Cabell, 1818, he speaks of "a system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens from the richest to the poorest, as it was my earliest, so it shall be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." The slower progress in the Middle States passed by degrees into the feebleness of the South, and yet there may be seen the laying of the foundations beyond the mountains of Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, before the new century came in. In all there were fifteen incorporated colleges in the Union at the dawn of the new century.

Popular interest in education accompanied the tendency toward public control. The people's share in government was easily translated into devotion to new methods of training the new generation for service. Religion had been the chief promoter in founding the earliest colleges and academies. The older colleges were all the fruit of an effort to save the souls of the young as well as to discipline their minds. The obligation of the State as such to assume the charge of the schooling of its youth had not yet swept over the land. The secular tendencies of the French theories of education were not unwelcome as the nation went westward in the first decenniums of the new century, but at the same time the churches had not lost their sense of the need of special education of their own young people. In the West more than in the East the churches had less time, at first, to pay to schooling than to evangelism. But the

importance of schools was not lost sight of, and here and there academies and colleges were planted.

The proceeds of the sale of public lands became in the West the foundation of school funds. In 1821, New Hampshire began the erection of such a fund by exacting one-half of one per cent upon bank capital. Maine about the same time appropriated the sum realized by the sale of twenty townships to like use. Rhode Island, Vermont, and Pennsylvania had no invested school funds. In the South little was attempted in this line, yet the principle of State responsibility was recognized. Virginia in 1810 began the establishment of a fund, which amounted by 1815 to two million dollars. A feeble following was made in North and South Carolina. Large grants of land were made in Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. But more important sources of revenue came from the land grants of Congress. The foundation of the completely secularized State universities did not exist before 1787. In that year the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance was a direct step toward the development of the national policy of education. In the setting apart of three townships for the State of Ohio, public education was declared to be a public trust. A like policy was pursued in the admission of every State thereafter, except Maine and West Virginia, which had no public lands, and Texas, well able out of its vast domain to take care of itself. With these exceptions all have received two or more townships for endowments of higher education. The use to which the States put the surplus revenue fund of 1837 is suggestive. Sixteen of the twenty-six States used their quota, in whole or in part, for public schools.

Massachusetts in 1837 created a board of education and enlisted the services of Horace Mann, whose ability, devotion, and success placed him at the front of the host of teachers of young America. He found, he said, when he commenced his reform of the schools of Massachusetts, that the teachers were "mousing owls, employed to teach young eagles to fly." A centralizing tendency is not found

until the close of the period now under view. State boards of control were in operation in North Carolina, in 1825, superintendents in New York in 1813, Maryland in 1825, Vermont in 1827, Pennsylvania in 1833, Michigan in 1836, and Ohio and Kentucky in 1837. Of State universities only four antedate 1800. They were the college in Philadelphia, which at the close of the Revolutionary War was merged in the University of Pennsylvania; the University of North Carolina, 1789; the University of Vermont, 1791; and the University of Tennessee, 1794. From this time none was founded for a generation, save in the case of Georgia, which planted a college at Athens, 1801, and of South Carolina, which founded one the same year, at Columbia. The first university in the Northwest was the Ohio University, at Athens, Ohio, 1804; the next, in Virginia, at Charlottesville, opened in 1825, followed by that of Indiana, at Bloomington, in 1828, of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa, in 1831, of Delaware, at Newark, in 1834, and in the last year of the period, of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, in 1837.

The spirit of private educational enterprise planted institutions of learning too numerous for mention. The beginnings of industrial training are to be seen in the Rensselaer Polytechnic School, founded in New York in 1824. Within ten years the experiment was tried in a dozen States. This pioneer in a greatly needed culture had for its alumni such men as W. A. Roebling, famous as a builder of suspension bridges. In planting schools that reflected the character of the founder, and achieved a sort of individuality, private zeal outran public control.

One of the remarkable educational and benevolent institutions of the period is Girard College, Philadelphia. The founder, Stephen Girard, was born in France, May 24, 1750, became a cabin boy, a mate, and then master of a coasting vessel, finally settling in Philadelphia as a trader. His one vessel grew to a fleet of merchant ships. In 1812 he established a bank, and so great was its prosperity that when all other paper money was depreciated its notes were

at par. He became the "sheet anchor of the government credit" during the whole of the war. In the affairs of the Second Bank of the United States, Mr. Girard took great interest and largely influenced its management. He is best known, however, for his bequest of two million dollars for the founding of a college for white orphan boys. Mr. Girard died in 1831. The main building, commenced in 1833, and opened in 1848, is considered the most admirable specimen of Grecian architecture in America. A singular restriction imposed by the founder is that "no ecclesiastic, missionary or minister of any sect whatever" is to hold any office in the college, or even be permitted to enter the premises as a visitor.

The "seminaries" and "academies" were poorly endowed and barely furnished, but they took the common people in hand, and from their scanty aid strong men went out to walk in high and honorable service in State and Church. They were not preparatory schools for colleges; they frequently followed an independent programme, omitting or adding subjects without regard to the curriculum of the college. Two passions almost invariably inspired the scantily furnished schoolrooms: the one was religion, the other, patriotism. Without doubt, the academy bridged the gap between the old-fashioned grammar school and the modern high school. Further, when the college, set stiffly in conservatism, was failing to satisfy the new needs of the fast changing environment, the academies, living as they did an independent life, often drew closer to the people because they were more quick to interpret the less exclusive and more practical demands of the people.

These academies did not, as most of the grammar schools had done, exclude the girls from their rooms. Yet, the times were not quite ripe for the free mingling of the sexes in school life, unless it were in the elementary ranks. So, those who advocated the equality of the sexes in educational privilege were compelled to yield to the prejudices of the time and to open academies for young ladies. In 1814,

Catherine Fiske began her work, to last twenty-three years, as a teacher of young women, in Keene, New Hampshire. Emma Hart founded in 1821 the Troy Seminary. It is believed that from this fruitful seed over two hundred similar seminaries or academies for young women have sprung up in the republic, one-half of which have been in the South. The zeal of Mary Lyon culminated, in 1836, in the planting of Mt. Holyoke Seminary.

The founding of seminaries was undertaken by the various denominations. The American Society of Sisters of Charity, organized near Baltimore, in 1811 sent out colonies to the West, one of the earliest being established near Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1812. This place became a centre of widespread influence for Roman Catholicism. By 1830 it claimed in the United States seven ecclesiastical seminaries, ten colleges, twenty nunneries, and many primary schools. Among the influential schools of other churches in the Mississippi valley were Centre College, at Danville, Kentucky, held by the Presbyterians, 1819; Augusta College, Augusta, Kentucky, by the Methodists, 1822; Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, by the Congregationalists, 1833; Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, by the Episcopalians, 1828; Denison, at Granville, Ohio, by the Baptists, 1832. Not to enter into a dull catalogue of the unwonted activity of all the churches in behalf of education, it will do to note that within twenty-five years from the beginning of the War of 1812 there were founded twenty-five theological schools. Turn to the list of colleges. When one names Amherst, Wesleyan, Hamilton, Lafayette, Columbian, Randolph-Macon, Western Reserve, and Marietta, all the product of this period, in addition to those named, and yet not the sum of all having foundation at this time, the zeal of the churches for learning will be understood.

There were famous teachers in those days. The second principal at Phillips Academy was Benjamin Abbot, whose term extended from 1788 to 1838. John Adams, principal

of Phillips Andover, from 1810 to 1833, enrolled over one thousand pupils, who carried far and wide his renown, as only devoted alumni can. In the South, a remarkable school was established by Moses Waddell, at Wilmington, South Carolina, in 1804. Judge A. B. Longstreet, John C. Calhoun, Patrick Noble, George McDuffie, and W. H. Crawford bore through life the impress of his influence, and in the councils of the nation illustrated his idealism.

In the realms of history, of science, of art, and of architecture no such young nation could be expected to go to the front. Yet it did not lack names of eminent genius in these fields. David Ramsey, though born in Pennsylvania, spent his life in South Carolina, ceasing his long literary career as a historian in 1815; J. G. Palfrey, born in Boston in 1796, was in preparation during our period for enrolment among American historians; so, too, was Charles Etienne Arthur Gayarré, born in 1805, whose first historical work, *Essai sur La Louisiane*, was published in 1830; William H. Prescott issued his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* in the last year of Jackson's administration; George Bancroft, born in the last year of the century of Independence, added to his reputation as a poet and translator by the publication, in 1834, of the first volume of his noted history. In the field of scientific research stand the names of Joseph Priestley, of John Vaughan, whose labors illumined the threshold of our period, of Robert Peter, of Transylvania University, who took the first daguerreotype west of the Alleghanies; of ethnologists like George Catlin and H. R. Schoolcraft, of Benjamin Silliman, who founded, in 1818, *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, the chief repository of American science; in botanical research shone forth the names of Alexander Wilson, his assistant George Ord, Joseph Correo da Serra, and, supreme over all, John James Audubon; in political science may be mentioned James Kent, Henry Wheaton, and Henry C. Carey; in art, Charles W. Peale, one of the founders of the Academy of Fine Arts in Pennsylvania, and his son, Rembrandt Peale, Gilbert Charles Stuart, the master



John Jacob Astor. *From the bust in the Astor Branch of the
New York Public Library.*

painter of the face of George Washington, whose portrait was saved from the flames at the time the British captured the capital by the forethought and courage of Mrs. Madison, John Trumbull, whose most important works are in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, Thomas Sully, who is popularly known for his celebrated picture, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, and last, Washington Allston, worthy to be ranked with artists of a later day.

In architecture, America may not be said to have had any originality in this period, nor could it be otherwise. The White House was copied from an Irish nobleman's residence; the stately mansions of the patroon, on the Hudson, and of the wealthy planter in the South, were smaller likenesses of the same structure; the State Capitol of Richmond, Virginia, a Græco-Composite building, was erected in 1796, after the plan of the Maison Carrée of Nîmes, France. In music, Americans were far from showing much culture or taste. The singing school, the church choir, and the parlor circle afforded, for the most, all the opportunity desired for voice and instrument. The Italian opera was first introduced into the United States in the fall of 1825, when Garcia's daughter won her triumph in Rossini's *Barber of Seville*. The amusements of ball room and theatre were, in the main, characterized by old fashioned dances in the one and borrowed dramas in the other. The pioneer in oratorio music was the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, allowed to perform on Sunday nights, though all theatres were closed.

At the beginning of the century, there were few public libraries, and these only for the use of collegiate circles or of a body of privileged subscribers. The splendid edifices which now invite the passer-by to a free use of vast accumulations of printed material were not even in the dreams of the most public spirited men. What is to-day the most notable college library in America, that of Harvard University, numbered only five thousand volumes in 1764. Its destruction by fire in that year aroused its supporters to

a reorganization upon a larger scale. The Boston Library was founded in 1794, the Boston Athenæum in 1807, the Mercantile Library, the first of its kind in the United States, in 1820, the State Library 1826. It was Boston that gave to Philadelphia the philosopher and philanthropist to whose foresight the latter city owes the impulse to its magnificent library privileges. Philadelphia had the good fortune to claim for its chief citizen in the preceding century, Benjamin Franklin, the founder of what he called "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries." This was in the fourth decade of the century. In 1771, The Library Company was organized by Franklin, and a merger of the various libraries took place. This foundation of a free popular library was nobly housed later on, when, in 1869, Dr. James Rush bequeathed one million dollars for the erection of the Ridgway Library, a noble granite structure fashioned after classic models. Passing to New York, we notice what was probably the earliest loan library in America, the New York Society Library, founded in 1700. In 1804, was organized the New York Historical Society. The first public library of Baltimore was organized, a subscription enterprise, in 1797. In Charleston, South Carolina, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Library Society owed its origin to seventeen young men who associated themselves to purchase periodical literature from Great Britain. But large private collections absorbed the interest of scholars in the South rather than the endowment of public libraries. In Cincinnati, thirteen years after its start, the Cincinnati Library was opened, in 1802. In 1800, Congress made its first appropriation, the sum of five thousand dollars, for the purchase of books for the use of its members. When the British fired the Capitol in 1814, this collection was consumed. A new beginning was made by the purchase of Jefferson's valuable private collection. All that was now needed, increase of wealth, of public spirit, of leisure, of education of the masses, to make free libraries a necessary part of the progress of American

idealism, soon appeared, and within a few decades numerous and liberal foundations were made.

The age was one to be proud of for its magnificent achievement in the establishment of great benevolent institutions. The activity of Home Missionary Societies told the story of that mingling devotion and patriotism for which the American churches have ever been renowned. In 1829–1830 the American Home Missionary Society sent to Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, and other Western States and Territories one hundred and twenty-four missionaries. The Presbyterian Society sent to the frontier the same year eighty-five evangelists. The whole period since the War of 1812 was increasingly alive with efforts to prevent the spread of infidelity and immorality. Among such agencies were the Presbyterian Board of Missions, organized in 1816; the American Home Missionary Society, organized in 1826, which included half a dozen different church bodies; the Methodist Episcopal Society, organized in 1819; that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1820; and that of the Baptist Church, in 1832.

Nor were the churches indifferent to the wider horizon of foreign need. The birth of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, like that of the later British movement against the slave trade, took place in a Christian college. Starting from the consecration of three students in Williams College in 1807 it grew to noble proportions, for getting foundation in 1810 it became the first foreign board in American history for carrying the Gospel to other shores. In 1814, the American Baptist Union sent out the Rev. Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice to India. In 1832, the Methodists sent Melville B. Cox to Africa. The year of the close of the Jackson period finds the Presbyterian and the Lutheran Boards laying foundations in foreign fields. A highly interesting work was that of the "Bethels" for seamen in the leading ports of the Union. In 1829 there were as many as ten, the most noted being that of Boston, where the famous Edward Taylor,

whom Dickens called "a cataract of eloquence," preached to sailors for many years. The diffusion of the Bible was the aim of the American Bible Society, organized in the year 1816, in New York City. In 1829, the society endeavored to supply every destitute family in the United States with a Bible, and in 1832 it was announced that the huge task was nearly completed. In finest keeping with these efforts at illumination were the efforts at the reformation of society, whose most widespread vice was drunkenness. The American Temperance Society was organized in 1826. By 1831 this had multiplied to three thousand societies, with a membership of over three hundred thousand, pledged to secure the benefits of temperance, both for self and for the nation.

It must not be claimed that radicalism in anything was popular at this time. The fanatic, whether in religion or reform was looked upon with suspicion. Owen's social experiment was a failure and his deism was hated. The speeches of Miss Wright were held in aversion by the solid folk of the community. Men as good and true as Theodore Frelinghuysen, eminent for piety and zeal in good works, spoke of the anti-slavery movement as "the very wildness of fanaticism." The very life of the abolition cause depended upon agitation, and the natural result was that strife begot not merely antagonism from without but division within. A minority was for going too fast for the whole body. Arrayed as the extremists were against the partisanship, or the patriotism of sympathizers, a split occurred in the ranks of the abolitionists three years after the close of this period. A fraction remained with Mr. Garrison, "probably not more than one-fifth of the members of the anti-slavery societies then existing, and these were confined mainly to New England, and mostly to eastern Massachusetts."

Despite the eager forward movement of the people, in whose emphasis upon individualism selfishness had every encouragement, men and women did not lose sight of the needs of their less fortunate fellows. In 1815, Thomas

Hopkins Gallaudet, a young theological student went to Europe to study methods of teaching the deaf and dumb. In 1817, he opened a school for this class at Hartford, Connecticut, the first of its kind in America. The experiment was a private one, and not till after 1822 did the State see its duty in the matter. In quick imitation of the work thus begun in Connecticut, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Illinois founded asylums. It was seen to be a part of public policy for the State to educate all its young. Kentucky was the first to erect a State institution for the deaf.

It was a valiant young physician, S. G. Howe, who laid the foundation of the Perkins Institute for the Blind in 1832. He and Horace Mann were alumni of Brown University and both were touched with the spectacle of the needs of their younger brothers and sisters. Dr. Howe learned in 1838 that in New Hampshire there was a little girl, blind, deaf and dumb, and he took her at eight years of age for instruction. The story of his excursion into the dark unknown of Laura Bridgman's mind is like that of a venture into the wilds of a new continent.

The multiplication of the pauper and petty criminal classes during and after the war alarmed and aroused thoughtful persons to an active interference to prevent further demoralization. In 1813 a Society for the Suppression of Intemperance had been formed in Massachusetts. The distress of the hard times of 1816 led to more direct efforts to lessen widespread ills. The earlier methods of charitable relief which made Philadelphia an "emporium of beggars" gave way to more wise and sympathetic methods of dealing with poverty, and the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy was formed. New York immediately took similar steps; in this city the committees reported that the chief causes of pauperism were drink, lotteries, pawnbrokers, and the many charitable institutions of the city. The movement spread through the cities of the Atlantic States.

With the betterment of methods of dealing with such classes there followed the abolition of harsh handling of debtors. The legislature of New York in 1817 forbade the imprisonment of debtors for sums of less than twenty-five dollars, and in this it was followed by other States in the amendment of laws affecting the class in question. The notable speech delivered by R. M. Johnson in the United States Senate, January 14, 1823, was published in Boston with an appendix in which the information revealed a shocking state of affairs; from January, 1820, to April, 1822, there were two thousand persons imprisoned for debt in the city prisons for sums of less than twenty dollars, and one debtor was found to have lain in jail, forgotten by his friends, for thirty years.

But with this misery there was much to encourage the zeal of the philanthropist. Each of the new States in the West made provision in its constitution for the relief of sufferers from debt by prohibiting any citizen from being imprisoned for debt unless he refused to surrender his estate. The criminal code and penitentiary systems in use were seriously imperfect, yet nowhere else on earth were such mild and rational means used in handling prisoners. With the entrance of the Americans upon a new national life a new humanity appeared. Pennsylvania, in which, down to the Revolution, there were sixteen kinds of crime punishable with death, immediately reformed its code and swept away all traces of English cruelty, built the State Prison at Philadelphia, and thus began the penitentiary system in the United States. In this respect other States soon imitated it. However, with the increase of crime during and after the War of 1812, these prisons became crowded with criminals, and the need of ampler quarters and humaner treatment was evident to the most indifferent onlooker. Overcrowding produced awful results, and young criminals emerged more depraved than at the time of their committal. Before the period closes there appears a change for the better.

There must have been something in the more humane treatment of criminals on the Western Continent to attract the gaze of Europeans, for it was in 1830 that De Tocqueville obtained permission from the government to examine the prisons and penitentiaries of the United States. The days when prisoners were confined in the underground, unused shafts of an old copper mine, as in Connecticut in the opening of the century had passed into deserved opprobrium. The fame of the Auburn, New York, prison was carried back to the Old World by more than one traveller. It was called a model for the imitation of Europe. Writing in 1827, Captain Hall expresses the highest pleasure at the public spirit of America for the care of defectives and the erection of asylums, of one of which he says: "It is a splendid instance of the public spirit which the Americans delight to evince whenever a beneficent object is fairly put before them." Harriet Martineau was deeply affected by the account of the new departure in dealing kindly with criminals on the part of Captain Pillsbury of Weathersfield, whose moral power over insolent and dangerous criminals, was a revelation.

In the opportunities offered by peace, reform was inevitable. Even in war the humanity of the American attracted attention. The conduct of the American soldier in the Revolution has won from Lecky the tribute of praise for being the most humane fighter known to history. Now that the great temptations of the prosperity of peace had come to him in the time of Andrew Jackson, the scholar, the farmer, the merchant, turned philanthropist without let or difficulty. The average American might be obnoxious to the foreigner of taste because of his "Yankee curiosity," or his "Western roughness," or his "Southern intolerance," yet beneath all his peculiarities he was willing to share his time and strength with his fellow man. The huge continent could only be subdued through such methods. Associate toil erected log cabins, gathered in the crops, and pushed the boundaries of civilization to the sunset, with less

pauperism, brutality, or class pride than elsewhere. Beggars were rarely found. It was reserved for a later congestion in the large cities to furnish the likeness to Europe.

A notable feature of our period is the opportunity it gave to individual effort. Too many instances of the rise of poor boys to eminent positions in commerce, law, church, and state, were taking place for any family or class to feel itself privileged to retain office. Monopolies were not welcomed by the people. Corporations were not favored. The New York legislature of 1821 required a two-thirds vote of both Houses to legalize a corporation. Vast aggregations of capital were as yet unknown. The city had not yet exhibited the tendency to absorb the rural population. The country had furnished too many men to the national life for the most secluded farmer's son to be discouraged because of his isolation. Had he not watched the rise, or read the story of Jefferson, Marshall, Clay, Webster, Jackson, Harrison, Shelby, Calhoun, Whittier, Girard, Madison, Livingston, Astor? Who could say that the path upward was closed?

An era in which the ideals and experience of Jefferson, John Adams, Marshall, Madison, and Monroe were fused into those of a younger set of men like Clay, Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Webster, Benton, Hayne, could not be one of paltry capacity, or sterile in exploits and the victim of its own equivocation. Its rare fortune in the beginning was that the lives of the great founders overlapped the opening decades of the century. Men who fought for independence, like Marshall, and contributed of their wisdom to the making of the Constitution, like Madison, or went West to grow with its growth, like Jackson, continued far down toward the middle of the century to give character to an age that needed their veteran patriotism. John Adams and Jefferson survived until 1826, filling out an exact half century of independence. Webster, at Faneuil Hall, voiced the nation's thought in saying: "The tears which flow and the honors that are paid when the founders of the republic die give hope

that the republic itself may be immortal." Charles Carroll, of Baltimore, lived till 1832. Monroe, shrinking in sensitive retirement from the public gaze, passed away the year following, the "last cocked hat," as he was called in mingled humor and veneration. In 1835, the illustrious chief justice, John Marshall, died. The last survivor of the immortal Convention of 1787, the patriot sage of Montpelier, James Madison, died in 1836, on the 28th of June, in his eighty-sixth year, the last of the great brood of Virginians whose faithfulness and ability have made all other States her debtors for evermore.

In what Madison styled *Advice to My Country*, published after his death, he prayed "that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as a Pandora with her box opened, and the disguised one as the serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise." What Madison wrought, Marshall interpreted. In looking back over the period covered by the present volume no one can be placed by the side of the original builders with more fitness than Marshall. Of the "five founders" of the American Union named by John Fiske, Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Marshall, the last was not least. Their work was that of a mighty hand whose grip was complete only when the thumb had locked past the possibility of loss what the fingers had seized.

That democracy could be trusted with the fate of a nation, was a mystery that Europe could not solve. The *London Times* of April 20, 1817, wrote after this fashion: "We know not how it is, that a republican government can keep their States secure, and afford protection to their people, whilst taxes are unoppressive, and liberty of person and of creed is unrestrained in its exercise."

If in the judgment or jealousy of Europeans the American republic was to be a brief dream, yet the confidence of the American voter was a puzzle to every visitor from a foreign shore. Most men derided, a few withheld final verdict, rarely did one heartily approve the vast experiment.

In 1835, De Tocqueville, looking into the future of the American republic, entered in his remarkable report a parallel between the march of the United States and that of Russia, each one pushing over its hemisphere, the one to the west and the other to the east, and destined to divide the larger portion of the globe between them. In the light of events happening nearly seventy years afterward, the outlook seaward in the following remark of the French philosopher touching the United States is little less than amazing: "They will one day become the first maritime power of the globe. They are born to rule the seas, as the Romans were to conquer the world." He elsewhere has grave doubts as to the permanence of the nation, though none as to the supremacy of the Anglo-Americans and their ideas. He thought that the preponderance of power lay with the States, and that this forecast the ultimate downfall of the nation. That he did not value at the full the national sentiment, the increasing loyalty of the mass of the people to the Union, is evident.

De Tocqueville's fears for the stability of the Union were blown to the winds when the forward impulse given by Jackson reached its climax thirty years afterward, and the wisdom of the founders of the republic in laying the government upon the hearts of men had ample justification. Jackson may be said to have reached a halfway house in the achievement of nationality. The end of the road was not yet. The present page closes upon an uncertain and thorny path, thronged by the elements of discord, but with union, freedom, and peace at the end.

APPENDIX I

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, DECEMBER 15, 1814, TO JANUARY 5, 1815

“Therefore resolved, That it be, and hereby is, recommended to the legislatures of the several States represented in this Convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

“Resolved, That it be, and hereby is, recommended to the said legislatures, to authorize an immediate and earnest application to be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the said States, may separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy; and a reasonable portion of the taxes, collected within said States, may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due said States, and to the future defence of the same. The amount so paid into the said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States.

“Resolved, That it be, and hereby is, recommended to the legislatures of the aforesaid States, to pass laws (where it has not already been done) authorizing the governors or

commanders-in-chief of their militia to make detachments from the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and held in readiness for service; and upon the request of the governor of either of the other States to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the State, or such part thereof as may be required and can be spared consistently with the safety of the State, in assisting the State making such request to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

“Resolved, That the following amendments of the Constitution of the United States be recommended to the States represented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a convention chosen by the people of each State.

“And it is further recommended, that the said States shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amendments, until the same shall be effected.

“First. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, and all other persons.

“Second. No new State shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted by the Constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses.

“Third. Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days.

“Fourth. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses, to interdict the

commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation, or the dependencies thereof.

"Fifth. Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses, except such acts of hostility be in defence of the territories of the United States when actually invaded.

"Sixth. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized, shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, nor capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States.

"Seventh. The same person shall not be elected president of the United States a second time; nor shall the president be elected from the same State two terms in succession.

"Resolved, That if the application of these States to the government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these States should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this convention, be expedient for the legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Thursday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

"Resolved, That the Hon. George Cabot, the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, and the Hon. Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this convention, to be holden in Boston, at any time before new delegates shall be chosen, as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently require it."

APPENDIX II

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

[The following passages, enunciating what has become the recognized policy of the United States, are extracts from President Monroe's message at the commencement of the First Session of the Eighteenth Congress, December 2, 1823.]

AT the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain,

are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments

who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between these new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government *de facto* as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one *N*

believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

APPENDIX III

CABINET OFFICERS—1809-1837

1809-1817.—*Secretary of State*, Robert Smith, Maryland, March 6, 1809; James Monroe, Virginia, April 2, 1811. *Secretary of the Treasury*, Albert Gallatin, continued; George W. Campbell, Tennessee, February 9, 1814; A. J. Dallas, Pennsylvania, October 6, 1814; W. H. Crawford, Georgia, October 22, 1816. *Secretary of War*, William Eustis, Massachusetts, March 7, 1809; John Armstrong, New York, January 13, 1813; James Monroe, Virginia, September 27, 1814; William H. Crawford, Georgia, August 1, 1815. *Secretary of the Navy*, Paul Hamilton, South Carolina, March 7, 1809; William Jones, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1813; B. W. Crowninshield, Massachusetts, December 19, 1814. *Attorney-general*, C. A. Rodney, continued; William Pinkney, Maryland, December 11, 1811; Richard Rush, Pennsylvania, February 10, 1814. *Postmaster-general*, Gideon Granger, continued; Return J. Meigs, Ohio, March 17, 1814.

1817-1825.—*Secretary of State*, John Quincy Adams, Massachusetts, March 5, 1817. *Secretary of the Treasury*, W. H. Crawford, continued. *Secretary of War*, George Graham, *ad interim*, Virginia, April 7, 1817; John C. Calhoun, South Carolina, October 8, 1817. *Secretary of the Navy*, B. W. Crowninshield, continued; Smith Thompson, New York, November 9, 1818; John

Rodgers (Acting Secretary), Massachusetts, September 1, 1823; Samuel Southard, New Jersey, September 16, 1823. *Attorney-general*, Richard Rush, continued; William Wirt, Virginia, November 13, 1817. *Postmaster-general*, R. J. Meigs, Ohio, continued; John McLean, Ohio, June 26, 1823.

1825-1829.—*Secretary of State*, Henry Clay, Kentucky, March 7, 1825. *Secretary of the Treasury*, Richard Rush, Pennsylvania, March 7, 1825. *Secretary of War*, James Barbour, Virginia, March 7, 1825; Peter B. Porter, New York, May 26, 1828. *Secretary of the Navy*, S. L. Southard, continued. *Attorney-general*, William Wirt, continued. *Postmaster-general*, John McLean, continued.

1829-1837.—*Secretary of State*, Martin Van Buren, New York, March 6, 1829; Edward Livingston, Louisiana, May 24, 1831; Louis McLane, Delaware, May 29, 1833; John Forsyth, Georgia, June 27, 1834. *Secretary of the Treasury*, Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania, March 6, 1829; Louis McLane, Delaware, May 29, 1831; William J. Duane, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1833; Roger B. Taney, Maryland, September 23, 1833; Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire, June 27, 1834. *Secretary of War*, John H. Eaton, Tennessee, March 9, 1829; Lewis Cass, Michigan, August 1, 1831; Benjamin F. Butler, New York, March 3, 1837; Joel R. Poinsett, South Carolina, March 7, 1837. *Secretary of the Navy*, John Branch, North Carolina, March 9, 1829; Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire, May 23, 1831; Mahlon Dickerson, New Jersey, June 30, 1834. *Attorney-general*, John M. Berrien, Georgia, March 9, 1829; Roger B. Taney, Maryland, July 20, 1831; Benjamin F. Butler, New York, November 15, 1833. *Postmaster-general*, William T. Barry, Kentucky, March 9, 1829; Amos Kendall, Kentucky, May 1, 1835.

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